

for
add
the
r

LIBRARY

OF THE

Theological Seminary,

PRINCETON, N. J.

Case, ... Division DC122
Shelf, ... Section W94
Book, 24 No. v.1

POPULAR WORKS PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG,

73, CHEAPSIDE,

AND MAY BE PROCURED BY ORDER OF ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

THE FAMILY LIBRARY,

WITH PLATES AND WOODCUTS,

Price Five Shillings each.

ANY VOLUME OR WORK SOLD SEPARATELY.

Vol. 1, 2.	LIFE OF BUONAPARTE	Two Vols.
8.	LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT	One Vol.
3, 10, 13, 19, 27, 38.	LIVES OF BRITISH ARTISTS	Six Vols.
5, 6, 9.	HISTORY OF THE JEWS	Three Vols.
7, 51.	HISTORY OF INSECTS	Two Vols.
8.	COURT AND CAMP OF BUONAPARTE	One Vol.
11.	LIFE AND VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS	One Vol.
12.	LIFE OF NELSON, BY SOUTHEY	One Vol.
14.	LIVES OF BRITISH PHYSICIANS	One Vol.
15, 48, 49, 50.	HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA	Four Vols.
16.	DEMONOLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT	One Vol.
17.	LIFE AND TRAVELS OF BRUCE	One Vol.
18.	VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS'S COMPANIONS	One Vol.
20, 32.	VENETIAN HISTORY	Two Vols.
21.	HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS	One Vol.
22, 34, 37.	LIVES OF SCOTTISH WORTHIES	Three Vols.
23.	TOUR IN SOUTH HOLLAND	One Vol.
24.	LIFE OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON	One Vol.
25.	MUTINY OF THE BOUNTY	One Vol.
26.	REFORMATION IN ENGLAND	One Vol.
28, 29.	LANDER'S TRAVELS IN AFRICA	Two Vols.
30.	SALMAGUNDI. BY WASHINGTON IRVING	One Vol.
31.	TRIALS OF CHARLES I. AND THE REGICIDES	One Vol.
33.	LETTERS ON NATURAL MAGIC	One Vol.
35.	LIFE OF PETER THE GREAT	One Vol.

"From the History of France by Waxeall the reader will derive the greatest assistance while engaged with the original Works of De Thou and Davila. It is even quite necessary to him. The narrative is chosen from many more writers than could possibly be read or even easily be consulted, and the particulars (brought together with great diligence) give a very perspicuous and complete view of the characters and events of those times." Prof. Smyth's "Lectures on Modern History." 1840.

POPULAR BOOKS PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG,

73, CHEAPSIDE,

AND MAY BE PROCURED BY ORDER OF ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

Books on Biblical Criticism, &c.

	£	s.	d.
BROWN'S SELF-INTERPRETING BIBLE, with Notes, Maps, &c., 4to.	2	5	0
— CONCORDANCE OF THE SCRIPTURES, Bound and Gilt.	0	1	6
CAMPBELL ON THE GOSPELS. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	16	0
CARPENTER'S INTRODUCTION, &c., THE FAMILY EDITION. 4to.	0	15	0
OWEN ON THE HEBREWS. 4 vols. 8vo.			
PRIDEAUX'S CONNEXION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	18	0
ROBINSON'S GREEK AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE NEW TES- TAMENT. 8vo.	0	15	3
BURDER'S ORIENTAL CUSTOMS, New Edition, by JONES. 8vo.	0	9	0
CLARKE'S SUCCESSION OF SACRED LITERATURE. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	15	0
DR. ADAM CLARKE'S COMMENTARY ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 6 vols. imperial 8vo.	6	9	6
DR. ADAM CLARKE'S COMMENTARY ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. 2 vols. imperial 8vo.	2	8	0
BLAYNEY'S JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS. 8vo.	0	12	0
BOOTHROYD'S VERSION OF THE SCRIPTURES. With Notes. 3 vols. 4to.	3	3	0
BROWN'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. 8vo.	0	12	0
BURKITT'S NOTES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. 8vo.	1	4	0
CARPENTER'S INTRODUCTION TO THE BIBLE. Imperial 8vo.	0	12	0
CRUDEN'S CONCORDANCE OF THE SCRIPTURES. Imperial 8vo.	0	18	0
DODDRIDGE'S FAMILY EXPOSITOR. Imperial 8vo.	1	1	0
FULLER'S EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES ON GENESIS. 12mo.	0	4	0
GLEIG'S HISTORY OF THE HOLY BIBLE. 2 vols. 12mo.	0	12	0
GURNEY'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. 24mo.	0	3	6
HENRY'S COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE, by BLOMFIELD. 4to.	1	10	0
HORNE'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. 8vo edition.	0	7	0
JENNINGS'S JEWISH ANTIQUITIES. 8vo.	0	7	0
LOWTH'S LITERAL TRANSLATION OF ISAIAH. 8vo.	0	7	0
— LECTURES ON HEBREW POETRY. 8vo.	0	7	0
MACKNIGHT'S TRANSLATION OF THE EPISTLES. Imperial 8vo.	1	1	0
NEWCOME'S TRANSLATION OF EZEKIEL. 8vo.	0	7	0
— THE MINOR PROPHETS. 8vo.	0	7	0
NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCE. 32mo. (Glasgow.)	0	4	0
SEPTUAGINT GRÆCE. 2 vols. 32mo. (Glasgow.)	0	8	0
STUART'S COMMENTARY ON THE ROMANS. 8vo.	0	12	0
— HEBREWS. 8vo.	0	12	0
TRANSLATIONS OF THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE. 5 vols. 8vo.	2	4	0
WINTLE'S TRANSLATION OF DANIEL. 8vo.	0	8	0
WILLS'S GEOGRAPHY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. 8vo.	0	9	0
CALVIN'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. 2 vols. 8vo.			
PATRICK, LOWTH, ARNOLD, WHITBY, & LOWMAN. 3 vols. Imp. 8vo.			
BROWN'S DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE. 8vo.	0	12	0
GILPIN ON THE NEW TESTAMENT. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	16	0

Light Reading, and Books in the Pickwick style.

	£	s.	d.
EGAN'S (PIERCE) BOOK OF SPORTS AND MIRROR OF LIFE. Cuts, 8vo.	0	7	0
GRANT'S SKETCHES IN LONDON. 24 Engravings by PHIZ. 8vo.	0	12	0
HONE'S EVERY DAY BOOK AND TABLE BOOK. 3 vols., 8vo.	1	11	6
— YEAR BOOK. Numerous Cuts. 8vo.	0	10	6
— STRUTT'S SPORTS AND PASTIMES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND. 8vo.	0	10	6
PARTERRE (THE); A COLLECTION OF TALES AND ANECDOTES. 90 Cuts. 4 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
RAMBLES AND ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN BOLIO. 32 Engravings. 12mo.	0	9	0
GRACE DARLING, HEROINE OF THE FERN ISLANDS. A Tale. 20 Plates by PHILLIPS, &c.	0	10	0
PICKWICK ABROAD; OR A TOUR IN FRANCE. 41 Engravings by PHIZ. 8vo.	1	1	0
EGAN'S PILGRIMS OF THE THAMES. 26 Engravings. 8vo.	0	13	0
PAUL PERIWINKLE; OR THE PRESS-GANG. Now Publishing, to be completed in Twenty Parts, each	0	1	0
COLMAN'S BROAD GRINS. 6 Engravings. 32mo., Gilt.	0	1	6
EDGEWORTH'S NOVELS AND TALES. 18 vols., 12mo.	4	10	0
JOHNSON'S (CAPT.) LIVES OF NOTED HIGHWAYMEN. 13 Engravings.	0	9	0
LONDON SINGER'S MAGAZINE. Cuts. 8vo.	0	7	0
HEARTS OF STEEL. AN HISTORICAL TALE. 12mo.	0	5	0

Biography, History, and Geography.

	£	s.	d.
AUTOBIOGRAPHY. A COLLECTION OF THE MOST AMUSING LIVES. 33 vols.	5	15	6
BROOKES'S GENERAL GAZETTEER. By MARSHALL. 8vo.	0	12	0
CECIL'S LIFE OF THE REVEREND JOHN NEWTON. 32mo.	0	2	0
CLASSIC (THE) AND CONNOISSEUR IN ITALY AND LANZI'S STORIA PITTORICA. 3 vols., 8vo.	1	16	0
CONDER'S DICTIONARY OF GEOGRAPHY, ANCIENT AND MODERN. 12mo.	0	12	0
GILLIES'S HISTORY OF GREECE. 8 vols., 12mo.	1	15	0
GOLDSMITH'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Foolscap, Chiswick Press, 12mo.	0	9	0
GORTON'S TOPOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. 4 vols., 8vo.	3	12	0
LANGHORNE'S TRANSLATION OF PLUTARCH'S LIVES. 8vo.	0	8	0
MITFORD'S HISTORY OF GREECE. Edited by DAVENPORT. 8 vols., 12mo.	2	2	0
MODERN TRAVELLER. By JOSIAH CONDER. 33 vols., 18mo.	5	5	0
PARIS AND ITS ENVIRONS. With 204 fine Views by HEATH. 4to.	2	2	0
WATSON'S LIFE OF PHILIP THE SECOND. New Edition. 8vo.	0	9	0
— LIFE OF PHILIP THE THIRD	0	9	0
WHISTON'S JOSEPHUS'S HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE JEWS. 3 vols., 8vo. Oxford.	1	7	0
ADVENTURES IN ALGIERS AND OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA. 3 vols., 8vo.	1	11	6
MILNER'S CHURCH HISTORY AND CONTINUATION. 8vo.	0	15	0
FULLER'S HISTORY OF CAMBRIDGE. New Edition. 8vo., Plates. Edited by NICHOLS.			
MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. 2 vols., 8vo.	1	7	0

Chemistry, Natural History, Botany, Medicine, Surgery, Farriery, &c.

	£	s.	d.
BUCHAN'S DOMESTIC MEDICINE. 8vo.	0	12	0
GRIFFIN'S CHEMICAL RECREATIONS. 12mo.	0	7	0
RYDGE'S VETERINARY SURGEON'S MANUAL. Fourth Edition. 8vo.	0	6	0
SOUTH'S OTTO'S PATHOLOGICAL ANATOMY OF THE BONES AND MUSCLES. 8vo.	0	14	0
THOMSON'S HISTORY OF CHEMISTRY. 2 vols., 12mo.	0	12	0
— OUTLINES OF MINERALOGY, GEOLOGY, &c. 2 vols., 8vo.	1	12	0
— SYSTEM OF INORGANIC CHEMISTRY. 2 vols., 8vo.	2	2	0
— OUTLINE OF THE SCIENCE OF HEAT, ELECTRICITY, &c. 8vo.	0	15	0
BUFFON'S NATURAL HISTORY. By WRIGHT. 466 Cuts. 4 vols.	1	4	0
MAWE'S EVERY MAN HIS OWN GARDENER. 12mo.	0	8	6
STRUTT'S SYLVA BRITANNICA; PORTRAITS OF FOREST TREES. 4to., 50 Plates	1	1	0
WHITE'S NATURAL HISTORY. By LADY DOVOR. 12mo.	0	6	0

POPULAR BOOKS PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG,

73, CHEAPSIDE,

AND MAY BE PROCURED BY ORDER OF ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

Theology.

	£	s.	d.
ADAMS'S PRIVATE THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. 18mo.	0	2	0
ALLEINE'S ALARM TO UNCONVERTED SINNERS. 32mo.	0	2	0
AMBROSE LOOKING UNTO JESUS, and other Works. 8vo.	0	8	0
BAXTER'S SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST. 8vo.	0	9	0
Pocket Edition. 18mo.	0	3	0
BERKELEY'S (BISHOP) WORKS. 8vo.	0	12	0
BLAIR'S SERMONS. 5 vols. in one. 8vo.	0	7	0
LECTURES ON RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES. 8vo.	0	7	0
BOLTON'S TREATISE ON COMFORTING AFFLICTED CON-SCIENCES. 18mo.	0	2	0
BOOTH'S (ABRAHAM) SELECT WORKS, viz. REIGN OF GRACE, &c. 12mo.	0	4	6
BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. Notes by ADAM CLARKE. 18mo.	0	4	0
Large 8vo. Edition. Plates.	0	7	0
HOLY WAR. New Edition. 18mo.	0	3	6
BURDER'S VILLAGE SERMONS. New Edition. 12mo.	0	3	0
BURKITT'S HELP AND GUIDE TO CHRISTIAN FAMILIES. 32mo.	0	2	0
BURNET'S EXPOSITION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. 8vo.	0	9	0
BUTLER'S ANALOGY OF RELIGION, NATURAL AND REVEALED. 12mo.	0	4	6
SERMONS. New Edition. 12mo.	0	4	6
CALVIN'S LIBERTY OF CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By ALLEN. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
CALVIN'S COMMENTARY ON THE PSALMS. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
THEOLOGY AND LIFE. By DUNN. 12mo.	0	6	0
CAMPBELL'S (G., D.D.) LECTURES ON ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. 8vo.	0	7	0
PULPIT ELOQUENCE AND PASTORAL CHARACTER. 8vo.	0	6	0
DISSERTATION ON MIRACLES. 8vo.	0	6	0
WORKS. Complete in 6 vols. 8vo.	2	2	0
CARPENTER'S SCRIPTURE NATURAL HISTORY. Sixth Edition. 12mo.	0	5	0
CAVE'S LIVES OF THE FATHERS. New Edition. 3 vols. 8vo. Oxford.			
CAVE'S LIVES OF THE APOSTLES AND PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY. 8vo.			
CECIL'S SERMONS. New Edition. 12mo.	0	3	0
CHARNOCK ON THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. 8vo.	0	12	0
CLARKE'S (DR. ADAM) MISCELLANEOUS WORKS. 13 vols. 12mo.	3	18	0
SERMONS. 4 vols. 12mo.	1	0	0
PROMISES OF SCRIPTURE. By CARPENTER. 32mo.	0	1	6
COLES ON GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY. 12mo.	0	4	6
DODDRIDGE'S RISE AND PROGRESS OF RELIGION. 32mo.	0	1	6
DUNN'S SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF HOWE.	0	6	6
DWIGHT'S SYSTEM OF THEOLOGY. 5 vols. 8vo.	1	10	0
5 vols. Pocket Edition.	1	0	0
Imperial Octavo.	1	1	0
ELLIS'S KNOWLEDGE OF DIVINE THINGS. 12mo.	0	6	6
FINNEY'S SERMONS ON IMPORTANT SUBJECTS. 12mo.	0	4	0
LECTURES TO PROFESSING CHRISTIANS. 12mo.	0	4	0
ON REVIVALS OF RELIGION. 12mo.	0	4	0
FISHER'S MARROW OF MODERN DIVINITY. 12mo.	0	5	0
GILL'S BODY OF PRACTICAL DIVINITY. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
CAUSE OF GOD AND TRUTH. 8vo.	0	12	0
GOODWIN'S REDEMPTION REDEEMED. 8vo, in the Press.			
GURNALL'S CHRISTIAN IN COMPLETE ARMOUR. 8vo.	0	10	6
HALL'S (REV. ROBERT) SELECT WORKS. 12mo.	0	3	6
HANNAM'S PULPIT ASSISTANT New Edition. 8vo.	0	12	0

Theology.

	£	s.	d.
HAWKER'S EVENING PORTION. New Edition	0	3	0
HERVEY'S THERON AND ASPASIA. New Edition. 8vo.	0	10	6
————— MEDITATIONS AND CONTEMPLATIONS. 8vo.	0	5	0
HILL'S (REV. ROWLAND) VILLAGE DIALOGUES. Cuts. 12mo.	0	6	0
————— 3 vols. 12mo.	0	9	0
HOOKE'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	18	0
HOWE'S CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY. By DUNN. 12mo.	0	6	6
————— THEOLOGICAL TREATISE. By TAYLOR. 12mo.	0	4	0
LELAND'S DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTA- MENTS. 8vo.	0	10	6
————— VIEW OF DEISTICAL WRITERS. By EDMONDS. 8vo.	0	12	0
MASSILLON'S SERMONS. New Edition, 8vo.	0	12	0
NEALE'S HISTORY OF THE PURITANS. 3 vols. 8vo.	1	7	0
NELSON'S FASTS AND FESTIVALS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. 8vo. Oxford.	0	10	6
NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCE. 32mo. Glasgow.	0	5	0
OLNEY HYMNS. By NEWTON and COWPER. 32mo.	0	2	0
PASCAL'S THOUGHTS ON RELIGION. 18mo.	0	2	6
PEARSON'S EXPOSITION OF THE CREED. 8vo.	0	9	0
PORTEUS'S LECTURES ON ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL. 8vo.	0	9	0
PULPIT (THE), A COLLECTION OF ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY SERMONS. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
ROBINSON'S SCRIPTURE CHARACTERS. 8vo.	0	12	0
ROMAINE'S WORKS. New Edition.	0	18	0
SAURIN'S SERMONS. Translated by ROBINSON, &c. 3 vols. 8vo.	1	16	0
SCOTT'S (REV. THOMAS) THEOLOGICAL WORKS. 12mo. Chiswick	0	8	0
SEPTUAGINT (THE) GREEK. 2 vols. 32mo. Glasgow.	0	12	0
SHEPARD'S PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS. 12mo.	0	6	0
SHERLOCK'S WORKS, with Summary by HUGHES. 5 vols. 8vo.	1	17	6
SIMPSON'S PLEA FOR RELIGION. New Edition. 12mo.	0		
SACRED CLASSICS, OR LIBRARY OF DIVINITY, viz.			
BEVERIDGE'S PRIVATE THOUGHTS, by STEBBING. 2 vols.	0	9	0
BOYLE'S (HON. ROBERT) TREATISES, by ROGERS	0	4	6
BUTLER'S FIFTEEN SERMONS, by CATTERMOLLE	0	4	6
CAVE'S LIVES OF THE APOSTLES, by STEBBING. 2 vols.	0	9	0
BISHOP HALL'S TREATISES, by CATTERMOLLE	0	4	6
HORNE ON THE PSALMS, by MONTGOMERY. 3 vols.	0	12	6
HOWE'S THEOLOGICAL TREATISES, by TAYLOR	0	4	6
KNOX'S CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, by STEBBING	0	4	6
LOCKE ON THE REASONABLENESS OF CHRISTIANITY	0	4	6
SACRED POETRY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. 2 vols.	0	9	0
SERMONS BY DIVINES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES. 3 vols.	0	12	6
TAYLOR'S (REV. JEREMY), LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING	0	4	6
————— SERMONS ON THE MIRACLES	0	4	6
STURM'S REFLECTIONS ON THE WORKS OF GOD. 2 vols.	0	12	0
THORN'S LECTURES ON THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH. 18mo.	0	3	6
TILLOTSON'S WORKS, WITH LIFE, by BURCH. 10 vols. 8vo.	3	3	0
WARBURTON'S DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	8	0
WATSON'S SCRIPTURE HISTORY. 12mo. bound	0	4	0
WATTS'S GUIDE TO PRAYER. 32mo. bound	0	1	6
————— DEATH AND HEAVEN. New Edition	0	1	6
WESLEY'S SERMONS, WITH LIFE, by DREW. 2 vols. 8vo.	1	1	0
WHEATLEY'S ILLUSTRATION OF THE COMMON PRAYER. 8vo.	0	8	0
WHITFIELD'S SERMONS. Life by DREW. 8vo.	0	12	0
WITSIUS ON THE COVENANT BETWEEN GOD AND MAN. 2 vols. 8vo.	0	15	0

Miscellaneous Literature.

	£	s.	d.
BEAUTIES OF WASHINGTON IRVING. 21 Cuts by CRUIKSHANK.	0	4	6
BOOK OF SONGS; MINSTREL'S COMPANION SET TO MUSIC. 12mo.	0	5	0
BUCKE'S HARMONIES AND SUBLIMITIES OF NATURE. 3 vols. 8vo.	1	11	6
CAMPBELL'S (GEORGE D. D.), PHILOSOPHY OF RHETORIC. 8vo.	0	9	0
COWPER'S LIFE AND WORKS. By GRIMSHAW. 8 vols. 12mo.	2	0	0
POEMS. 2 vols. Pocket Edition.	0	3	0
CRABB'S DICTIONARY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE. New Edition.	0	7	0
DAVENPORT'S IMPROVED EDITION OF WALKER'S DICTIONARY. 18mo	0	5	0
With Key to Proper Names. 18mo.	0	6	0
DE FOE'S NOVELS AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS. In vols., monthly at	0	5	0
ENFIELD'S HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. New Edition. 8vo.	0	10	6
EURIPIDES OPERA OMNIA. 3 vols. 8vo.	3	9	0
FERGUSON'S LECTURES ON MECHANICS, &c. &c. 8vo.	0	6	0
FRENCH CLASSICS. Edited by VENTOUILLAC, viz:			
ELISABETH. <i>Cottin</i> . 18mo. Cloth boards	0	2	0
NUMA POMPILIUS. <i>Florian</i> .	0	5	0
NOUVEAUX MORCEAUX CHOISIS. <i>De Buffon</i> .	0	3	0
LA CHAUMIERE INDIENNE. <i>St. Pierre</i> .	0	2	6
CHOIX DES CONTES MORAU. <i>De Marmontel</i> .	0	2	6
BELISAIRE. <i>Marmontel</i> .	0	3	0
HISTOIRE DE PIERRE LE GRAND. <i>Voltaire</i> .	0	5	0
TELEMAQUE. <i>Fenelon</i> .	0	6	0
PENSEES, DE. <i>Pascal</i> .	0	3	0
CHOIX DES TRAGEDIES, DE. <i>Racine</i> .	0	6	0
COMEDIES, DE. <i>Moliere</i> .	0	6	0
FULLER'S CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN, by NICHOLS. 3 vols. 8vo.	1	16	0
GARDENS AND MENAGERIE OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY. 2 vols.	1	1	0
GLEIG'S HISTORY OF THE BIBLE. 2 vols. 12mo	0	12	0
HIGGINS'S PHILOSOPHY OF SOUND & MUSICAL COMPOSITION. 12mo	0	8	0
HOLLAND'S (MRS.) DOMESTIC COOKERY. New Edition	0	4	6
HOWARD'S BEAUTIES OF BYRON. 32mo.	0	2	6
JOHNSON'S DIAMOND DICTIONARY. 32mo.	0	2	6
POCKET DICTIONARY FOR SCHOOLS. 18mo.	0	1	6
JOSEPHUS'S HISTORY OF THE WARS OF THE JEWS. 3 vols. 8vo. Oxford	1	7	0
LOCKE'S ESSAY ON THE HUMAN UNDERSTANDING. 8vo.	0	9	0
LONDON ENCYCLOPÆDIA. Ninth Edition. 22 vols. royal 8vo.	12	0	0
MADAN'S LITERAL TRANSLATION OF JUVENAL. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford.	0	14	0
MANUAL OF ASTROLOGY; OR, BOOK OF THE STARS. 8vo.	0	6	0
MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS, by SIR EGERTON BRYDGES. 6 vols. Plates.	1	10	0
Pocket Edition. 18mo.	0	4	6
PARADISE LOST. " " 18mo.	0	3	0
SELECT PROSE WORKS, by ST. JOHN. 2 vols. 12mo.	0	12	0
MITCHELL'S PORTABLE ENCYCLOPÆDIA. 50 Plates, 8vo.	1	1	0
MOAT'S SHORT-HAND STANDARD. 24 Engravings, 8vo.	0	7	0
MORE (MRS. HANNAH) ON FEMALE EDUCATION. 18mo.	0	4	0
MORNINGS AT BOW STREET. 21 Cuts by CRUIKSHANK. 12mo.	0	5	0
PALEY'S WORKS. Notes and Illustrations by PAXTON. 5 vols. 8vo.	2	5	0
PORTER'S (MISS) LAKE OF KILLARNEY. A Tale. 12mo.	0	3	0
READY RECKONER. New Stereotype Edition.	0	1	0
ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY. 6 vols. 8vo. Maps.	2	8	0
SALE'S AL KORAN OF MAHOMET. 8vo.	0	15	0
SCOTT'S MINSTRELSY OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER. 8vo.	0	12	0
SHAKSPEARE'S DRAMATIC WORKS. Diamond Edition. 12mo.	0	8	0
AND POETICAL WORKS. Octavo Edition	0	12	0
SHELLEY'S POETICAL WORKS. New Edition. 4 vols.	1	0	0
SPHINX; A COLLECTION OF THREE HUNDRED REBUSES, CHARADES, &c. &c.	0	1	6
STERNE'S WORKS. Complete in 1 vol., 8vo.	0	12	0
TEGG'S DICTIONARY OF CHRONOLOGY. New Edition. 12mo.	0	6	0
VOCAL COMPANION: OR SINGER'S OWN BOOK. 12mo.	0	4	6
WATTS'S LOGIC; OR RIGHT USE OF REASON. 24mo.	0	3	0
ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE MIND. 24mo.	0	2	6
WESLEY'S LOGIC. Improved by JACKSON. 18mo.	0	2	6
JOURNAL OF HIS LIFE, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS. 8vo.	0	10	6
WESLEYANA; IMPORTANT PASSAGES FROM HIS WORKS. 18mo.	0	3	6
YOUNG'S NIGHT THOUGHTS. 18mo.	0	3	0
JONES'S ENGLISH SYSTEM OF BOOK-KEEPING. Part 1. (Tradesmen)	0	12	0
2 parts, in one vol. (Merchant and Banker)	1	1	0
MORE'S (MRS. HANNAH) POPULAR WORKS. 2 vols., 8vo., in the Press.			
DOUCE'S ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKSPEARE. 8vo., Cuts, in the Press.			

Books for Children.

	£	s.	d.
BARBAULD'S EVENINGS AT HOME. 18mo.	0	4	0
BOOK OF TRADES (GRIFFIN'S) New Edition. 16mo.	0	6	0
BOY'S BOOK OF SCIENCE. Square 16mo.	0	8	6
CHILD'S (MRS.) STORIES FOR HOLIDAY EVENINGS. 18mo.	0	2	6
CHILD'S (THE) OWN BOOK. Sixth Edition. 16mo.	0	7	6
CHILD'S BOTANY. Square 16mo.	0	2	0
Coloured plates	0	2	0
ENDLESS AMUSEMENT. FOUR HUNDRED CURIOUS EXPERIMENTS. 18mo.	0	2	0
New Series. 18mo.	0	2	0
EARLY FRIENDSHIPS, by MRS. COPLEY	0	2	6
GIRL'S OWN BOOK, by MRS. CHILD. Square 16mo.	0	4	6
BOOK OF SPORTS, by Miss LESLIE. Square 16mo.	0	4	6
HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FOR YOUNG HISTORIANS. 18mo. Bound.	0	3	6
JOYCE'S SCIENTIFIC DIALOGUES. Royal 18mo.	0	5	0
JUVENILE EVERY DAY BOOK. Square 16mo.	0	5	0
SCRAP BOOK. 4to Plates	0	8	0
LOOKING-GLASS FOR THE MIND. 65 Cuts, 12mo.	0	3	6
MOTHER'S (THE) STORY BOOK. 26 Cuts. 18mo. Bound	0	3	6
PETER PARLEY'S WORKS, square 16mo., any sold separately, viz :			
TALES ABOUT EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, AND AMERICA.	0	7	6
ANIMALS. New Edition	0	7	6
ENGLAND, IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND			
WALES. Square 16mo.	0	7	6
CHRISTMAS AND ITS FESTIVITIES. Sq. 16mo.	0	7	6
PLANTS. Prepared for Press, by Mrs. LOUDON.	0	7	6
ANCIENT AND MODERN GREECE	0	4	6
ROME AND MODERN ITALY	0	4	6
UNIVERSAL HISTORY	0	4	6
THE SEA AND PACIFIC OCEAN	0	4	6
SUN, MOON, AND STARS	0	4	6
GRAMMAR OF GEOGRAPHY	0	4	6
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	0	4	6
LIFE OF FRANKLIN AND WASHINGTON	0	4	6
MYTHOLOGY OF GREECE AND ROME	0	4	6
SERGEANT BELL AND HIS RAREE-SHOW. Square 16mo.	0	7	6
STORIES ABOUT POLAND, by ROBIN CARVER. 18mo. Half Bound	0	2	6
STRIVE AND THRIVE, a Tale, by MRS. MARY HOWITT	0	2	6
TEMPERANCE TALES, founded on facts. Square 16mo.	0	3	6
TEGG'S PRESENT FOR AN APPRENTICE.	0	4	6
TEGG'S STANDARD LIBRARY FOR THE PEOPLE, bound and gilt, viz :			
THREE EXPERIMENTS OF LIVING	0	2	0
ABBOT'S HOARY-HEAD AND THE VALLEYS BELOW	0	2	6
LOVE-TOKEN FOR CHILDREN, by Miss SEDGWICK	0	2	0
THE MOTHER'S BOOK, by MRS. CHILD	0	2	0
LIVE AND LET LIVE, by Miss SEDGWICK	0	2	6
BEST'S ART OF ANGLING, by JACKSON	0	2	6
MRS. CHILD'S FRUGAL HOUSEWIFE	0	2	0
TODD'S SABBATH SCHOOL TEACHER	0	3	0
LETTERS TO MOTHERS, by MRS. SIGOURNEY	0	2	0
MORE'S (MRS. HANNAH) STORIES FOR THE MIDDLE RANKS.	0	2	6
RICH POOR MAN AND POOR RICH MAN	0	2	0
DIARY OF AN AMERICAN PHYSICIAN	0	2	0
MASON'S TREATISE ON SELF-KNOWLEDGE	0	2	0
MORE'S PRACTICAL PIETY	0	3	0
TALES FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE	0	2	6
TODD'S STUDENT'S MANUAL	0	3	0
MORE'S DRAMAS, SEARCH, AND ESSAYS	0	3	0
PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON SENSE	0	2	0
EPHRAIM HOLDING'S DOMESTIC ADDRESSES	0	2	6
TOM TELESCOPE'S NEWTONIAN PHILOSOPHY. Cuts. Square 16mo.	0	4	6
UNCLE PHILIP'S CONVERSATION ON THE WHALE FISHERY	0	4	6
ABOUT THE TOOLS AND TRADES			
OF ANIMALS	0	4	6
WATTS'S DIVINE SONGS FOR CHILDREN. Bound.	0	0	6
HOPEFUL YOUTH FALLING SHORT OF HEAVEN	0	1	0
YOUNG MAN'S OWN BOOK. 18mo.	0	3	6
AID TO KNOWLEDGE. 18mo.	0	3	6
YOUNG LADIES' STORY-TELLER, by Miss LESLIE	0	2	0

POPULAR WORKS PRINTED FOR T. TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE.

AND MAY BE PROCURED BY ORDER OF ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

School Books.

		£	s.	d.
ÆSCHYLUS. A NEW TRANSLATION.		0	5	0
ADAM'S ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, with Questions. By BOYD.	12mo.	0	7	0
AINSWORTH'S DICTIONARY, LATIN AND ENGLISH.	18mo.	0	7	0
ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By the REV. J. WILLIAMS.		0	5	0
ANTHON'S HORACE, with English Notes. By BOYD.		0	7	6
———— SALLUST,		0	5	0
———— CICERO'S ORATIONS,		0	6	0
———— CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES, with English Notes, Plates, &c.		0	6	0
———— GREEK GRAMMAR. Edited by MAJOR.				
———— PROSODY				
———— LATIN GRAMMAR. Edited by the REV. W. HAYES				
BALDWIN'S HISTORY OF ROME.	12mo. Bound.	0	3	6
———— GREECE.	12mo. Bound.	0	4	0
———— PANTHEON OF HEATHEN MYTHOLOGY.	12mo. Bound	0	5	6
BONNYCASTLE'S SCHOOL BOOKS, improved by the REV. E. C. TYSON, viz:				
INTRODUCTION TO ALGEBRA.	12mo. Bound.	0	4	0
KEY TO ALGEBRA.	" "	0	4	6
INTRODUCTION TO MENSURATION.	" "	0	5	0
KEY TO MENSURATION.	" "	0	5	0
ARITHMETIC.	" "	0	3	6
KEY TO ARITHMETIC.	" "	0	4	6
BURGESS'S HEBREW ELEMENTS.	12mo.	0	5	0
———— RUDIMENTS OF HEBREW.	12mo.	0	7	0
CRABB'S DICTIONARY OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE.	Fourth Edition	0	7	0
ENFIELD'S SPEAKER.	New Edition. Bound.	0	3	6
FIRST LESSONS OF GRECIAN HISTORY. Questions and Answers.	12mo.	0	1	0
FISHER'S YOUNG MAN'S BEST COMPANION.	Bound.	0	3	6
GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY BY A LADY. New Edition, by WRIGHT		0	4	6
Q. HORATHI FLACCI OPERA (DOERING). Oxford.	8vo.	0	18	0
HUTTON'S COURSE OF MATHEMATICS, by RAMSAY.	8vo.	0	15	0
KEITH ON THE USE OF THE GLOBES. New Edition, by WRIGHT		0	6	6
LEMPRIERE'S CLASSICAL DICTIONARY, by PARK.	18mo.	0	7	0
MANGNALL'S HISTORICAL QUESTIONS, by WRIGHT.	12mo.	0	5	0
MEADOWS'S ITALIAN AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY.	18mo.	0	7	0
———— FRENCH & ENGLISH PRONOUNCING DICTIONARY.	18mo	0	7	0
MURRAY'S SCHOOL BOOKS, Improved by TYSON, viz.				
ENGLISH GRAMMAR.	12mo. Bound	0	4	0
———— Abridged,	18mo. Bound	0	1	0
———— EXERCISES.	12mo. Bound	0	2	6
KEY TO ENGLISH EXERCISES.	12mo. Bound	0	2	6
ENGLISH READER.	12mo. Bound	0	4	0
INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH READER.	12mo. Bound	0	2	6
GRAMMAR AND EXERCISES, by GARTLEY.	18mo.	0	2	0
MORRISON'S NEW SYSTEM OF BOOK-KEEPING.	8vo. Bound.	0	8	0
PINNOCK'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. New Edition		0	5	6
POTTER'S ANTIQUITIES OF GREECE, by BOYD,	12mo.	0	9	0
TEGG'S FIRST SCHOOL BOOK, or Reading made Easy.	Bound	0	0	3
TOOKE'S (HORNE) DIVERSIONS OF PURLEY. New Edition, by TAYLOR				
SPELLING BOOKS, viz.				
ENFIELD'S, New Progressive		0	1	3
MAVOR'S, a Very Superior Edition		0	1	3
DILWORTH'S	" "	0	1	3
FENNING'S	" "	0	1	3
VYSE'S	" "	0	1	3
WRIGHT'S GREEK-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.	18mo. Cloth.	0	7	0

THE
HISTORY
OF
F R A N C E,

FROM 1574 TO 1610.

VOL. I.

HISTORY

FRANCIS

FROM 1774 TO 1801

VOL. I

Strahan and Preston,
Printers-Street, London.

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,
FROM THE
ACCESSION OF HENRY THE THIRD,
IN 1574,
TO THE
DEATH OF HENRY THE FOURTH,
IN 1610.

PRECEDED BY
*A VIEW OF THE CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL
STATE OF EUROPE,*

BETWEEN THE MIDDLE, AND THE CLOSE OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY;

AND FOLLOWED BY
A VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE
AT THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH.

BY SIR N. WILL^M. WRAXALL, BART.

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND.

1814.

THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE

FROM THE
ACCESSION OF HENRY THE THIRD
IN 1574

TO THE
DEATH OF HENRY THE FOURTH
IN 1610

RECORDED BY
A VIEW OF THE CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL
STATE OF EUROPE

BETWEEN THE END OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AND ENDED BY
A VIEW OF THE STATE OF EUROPE
AT THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS THE THIRTEENTH

BY SIR N. WILKINSON, BART.

THE SECOND EDITION

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, AND W. DAVIES
IN THE STRAND.

1814

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

IN composing the History of France, I have not had it so much in my intention, to relate the series of political facts under the reigns of Henry the Third and Fourth; as to delineate the genius, spirit, and character of the French nation, during that period. The nature and limits of the work itself, did not permit me in the first volume*, to do more than sketch, in nineteen chapters, the general state of the European system, between the middle and the conclusion of the sixteenth century. In the second and third volumes, I have minutely and accurately shaded the picture. The sources from which information upon national manners, and the progress

* In the present edition, each of the Quarto volumes is contained in two of Octavo.

of the human mind, are derived, may be pronounced to be neither obvious nor superficial. They can only be found in the most patient and laborious perusal, or investigation of almost all the contemporary writers, in every branch of science, or polite letters. To that merit, and to that only, I can lay claim.

It may perhaps be objected, that at the present moment, when men are universally agitated with apprehensions relative to the dearest objects of personal concern, and for the very preservation of civil order and society itself; few persons will have leisure or inclination to read the history of a period, which, though not in itself remote, is yet comparatively distant. But, may I not be allowed to assert, that to those who philosophize upon the nature of man, it cannot be either destitute of amusement or of instruction, to contemplate the same nation, as it existed above two hundred years ago, which engrosses at present so much attention? We shall find, that at the extinction of the family of Valois, and at the elevation of the house of Bourbon to the throne, the French people were under
the

the influence of a delirium, neither less ferocious, nor less sanguinary, than at this moment. So extraordinary a renewal of the same anarchy, and the same enormities, precisely at the termination of two centuries, might almost induce us to adopt the sentiment of their own historian de Thou; who seems to think, that “nations, like individuals, are subject to paroxysms of frenzy, which visit them periodically, at stated intervals.”

If the work now presented to the world, should never exceed its present limits, it is complete in itself; as containing, besides the sketch of Europe, in the first volume*, a History of France, in its most comprehensive sense, from 1574, to 1610. At the same time, it is my intention, if the public approbation should be extended to the work, to continue it through three additional volumes. The first of these, would contain the reign and age of Louis the Thirteenth; and the two last, the reign and age of Louis the Fourteenth, down to the death of that monarch, in 1715. The se-

* Quarto edition.

verity of truth, which is demanded from history, as well as the want of a number of lights and documents of various kinds, which time alone can furnish; would prevent me, even if there were no personal impediments in the way, from ever attempting to bring it down to a later period. That task must be the province of future historians, and the work of another century.

N. W^m. WRAXALL,

London,
March, 1795.

AT the end of nineteen years I give to the world a second edition of the present work. It contains a variety of alterations and augmentations, which have been demanded or suggested by the nature of the events that have intermediately convulsed the globe, between 1795, and the fall of Bonaparte. The deposition of that execrable, subtle, and flagitious tyrant, followed by the auspicious restoration of the august head of the Capetian line, to the throne of his ancestors ; while it renews all the recollections inseparably connected with the house of Bourbon, renders the French history itself productive of more delight, and pregnant with greater information. We are transported from a soil polluted with revolutionary crimes, stained with the obscure names of successive adventurers armed with power, or clothed with the Insignia of usurped royalty ; and find ourselves once more among the descendants of the Condés, the Sullys, the Montmorencys, and the Turennes. Louis the Eighteenth, recalled to his capital in

1814, presents a renewal of the same pleasing images which distinguished Henry the Fourth's entry into Paris in 1594, at the termination of a long and sanguinary revolution.

I have likewise enlarged on the State of Letters and Science under Henry the Third, and Henry the Fourth; a subject perhaps of all others, the most interesting to the mind.

Having given a "View of the civil, military, and political State of Europe in 1574," at the period when the "History of France" commences; I have now subjoined to the "Age of Henry the Fourth," a more succinct review of "*The general condition of the European States in 1610,*" the year of that prince's death, which terminates the present work.

N. WILLIAM WRAXALL.

London,
June 4, 1814.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION - Page xv.

View of the Civil, Political, and Social
State of Europe, at the Death of
Charles the Ninth, in 1574.

CHAP. I.

ENGLAND.

Review of the English history, from the death of Henry the Eighth, to the accession of Elizabeth. — Survey of the principal events of Elizabeth's reign, to the year 1574. — State of England at that period. — Foreign and domestic policy of the Queen. — Ministers and favorites. — Government and constitution. — Revenues. — Military force. — Navy. — Commerce. — Navigation. — Manufactures. — Population. — Police. — Letters.

Page 1

CHAP. II.

SCOTLAND.

Review of the Scottish history, from the death of James the Fifth, to the year 1574. — State of Scotland at that period.

a 4

riod.—Limited nature of the royal power.—Effect of the reformation.—Revenues.—Military force.—Manners of the nation. - - - - - Page 55

CHAP. III.

SPAIN.

General review of the reign of Philip the Second, from the death of Charles the Fifth, to the year 1574.—Insurrection, and progress of the revolution, in the Low Countries.—State of the Spanish monarchy in 1574.—Immense power, and revenues of Philip.—Defects of the administration.—Public debt.—Trade.—State of the arts,—Religious persecution,—Decline of Spain. 78

CHAP. IV.

PORTUGAL.

Survey of the Portuguese discoveries before the death of Alfonso the Fifth.—Accession and reign of John the Second.—Prosecution of naval enterprizes.—Accession of Emanuel.—Discovery of the passage to India, by Vasco de Gama.—Conquests of Albuquerque.—His recall and death.—Decease of Emanuel.—Reign of John the Third.—Magnitude of the Portuguese empire in Asia.—Accession of Sebastian.—State of Portugal in 1574.—Power of the crown.—Revenues.—Military force.—Navy.—Letters.—Review of the Portuguese exploits in Asia.—Difficulty of the navigation to India.—Courage and achievements of the first adventurers.—Virtue and disinterestedness of the Portuguese, contrasted with their vices and crimes.—Oppressions and cruelties, exercised on the Asiatics.—Pernicious effects of their religious zeal.—Conclusion. - - - - - 164

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

ITALY.

General state of Italy, in the middle of the sixteenth century. — Review of the history of Savoy, from the accession, to the death, of Charles the Third. — Reign of Emanuel Philibert, to the year 1574. — State of Savoy at that period. — Military force. — Marine.

Page 299

SAVOY. - - - - - 301

CHAP. VI.

VENICE.

Review of the Venetian history; from the beginning of the thirteenth century. — Gradual aggrandizement of the Republic in Albania, Dalmatia, and Lombardy. — Seizure of the island of Cyprus. — Grandeur, power, and elevation of Venice, at the close of the fifteenth century. — Causes of its decline. — League of Cambray. — Inroads of the Turkish Sultans, on the territories of the Republic. — Conquest of Cyprus, by Selim the Second. — State of Venice in 1574. — Commerce of the Republic, at that period. — Dominions. — Naval force. — Arts and magnificence. - - - - - 322

CHAP. VII.

TUSCANY.

Rise of the Republic of Florence. — Elevation of the family of Medicis. — Character and actions of Cosmo de Medicis. — Administration of Lorenzo. — Expulsion of his son. — Appearance, and death of Savonarola. — Revival of the Republic. — Restoration of the House of Medicis. — Their second expulsion. — Siege of Florence. — Reign and

and death of Alexander. — Election of Cosmo. — State of Florence at that period. — Reign, and actions of Cosmo. — Siege, and reduction of Sienna. — Title of Great Duke of Tuscany, conferred on Cosmo. — Felicity of his government. — His domestic misfortunes. — His death and character. — State of Tuscany in 1574. — Manufactures. — Commerce. — Arts. — Forces. — Population. — Felicity, and prosperity of Cosmo's reign. - Page 365

CHAP. VIII.

PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

Review of the Papacy, from the deposition of John the Twenty-third, by the Council of Constance. — Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth. — Julius the Second. — Leo the Tenth. — Adrian the Sixth. — Clement the Seventh. — Paul the Third. — Convocation of the Council of Trent. — Julius the Third. — Paul the Fourth. — Pius the Fourth. — Dissolution of the Council of Trent. — Pius the Fifth. — Election of Gregory the Thirteenth. — State of the temporal power of the Roman Pontiffs, in 1574. — Dominions. — Population. — Police. — Defective administration. — Revenues of the Holy See. — Military forces. — Treasures. — State of the fine arts. — Luxuries and refinements. — Authority of the Inquisition. — Examination of the spiritual power and prerogatives of the Holy See. — Pecuniary impositions, and exactions. — Inquisitorial prohibitions of literary productions. - 419

INTRODUCTION.

THE principal object of History, which is to expand and elevate, while it informs the mind, can never be so effectually attained, as by ascending an eminence at certain periods, and taking from thence a comprehensive view of man, as he exists under the various forms, into which force, policy, or accident, have moulded society. Before the termination of the fifteenth century, Europe, scarcely emerged from barbarism, and destitute of all the facilities of mutual communication, was little connected by any general ties of policy or commerce. But, after the accession of Francis the First to the crown of France, and the elevation of Charles the Fifth to the Imperial throne, a new order of events arose among the continental nations. The obstinate contests of those princes for pre-eminence and power, called into action, states previously unknown; eventually producing that systematic attention to prevent the aggrandizement of any one state, which was denominated “The Balance of Europe;” and

II which,

which, down to the calamitous æra of the French Revolution, had happily blended the interests of all. Letters, hitherto confined to the banks of the Arno, or the Tyber, and only fostered by the protecting care of the Medicis, or the Sovereign Pontiffs; began to penetrate beyond the Appennines and the Alps. They were patronized by sovereigns, cultivated by the nobility, and gradually diffused through the inferior ranks of mankind. Trade, which had been exclusively limited to the Mediterranean, embraced the Baltic and the Atlantic. The extremities of Europe became in some measure approximated, and the mutual wants of various countries united them by a common chain. It is from this period that a liberal curiosity is justly excited; and that history, liberated from fable or superstition, becomes the guide, and the best instructor to which we can have recourse.

France, from its central position, the felicity of its climate, the exuberance of its soil, from the magnitude and variety of its resources, the energy of its inhabitants, as well as from the spirit of enterprize and turbulence which has frequently characterized its counsels; has thro' out every age, influenced greatly on the general repose of the surrounding states. During the whole course of the sixteenth century, that kingdom may be considered as the master-spring, by which all the inferior movements were affected or regulated on the continent. Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, although possessed

sessed of far more extensive dominions, and masters of the treasures remitted from the New World; yet in real power were perhaps not superior to the French princes, their contemporaries. All Europe became implicated in the quarrels of Francis the First, and Henry the Second. England and Scotland, either as allies or as enemies, took the most active part. Italy became the great theatre of action, and the perpetual scene of hostility. The German empire, convulsed in its interior by political and religious dissensions, was agitated by the intrigues of Francis, and openly invaded by his successor Henry the Second, who dismembered from it Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Even beyond the shore of the Baltic, their enmity opposed new barriers to the ambition of the house of Austria. Christian the Second, King of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden, both entered into connexions of offensive policy with the crown of France. Not satisfied with appealing to all the Christian states, the French kings introduced an Asiatic and a Mahometan upon the stage of Europe. Soliman the Second, Sultan of the Turks, become master of the ancient capital of the Greek empire, acted as their ally and confederate. The Mediterranean was covered with the French and Ottoman fleets, who besieged Nice in concert, laid waste the coasts of Italy, and spread terror from the mouth of the Adriatic, to the Straits of Gibraltar.

Even

Even after the decease of Henry the Second in 1559, and the commencement of the civil wars, which plunged the kingdom of France into a temporary anarchy; the restless ambition of Catharine of Medicis, or the efforts of the two factions which contended for superiority in the interior, perpetuated the general fermentation. Scotland, by the marriage of their young Queen, Mary Stuart, to Francis the Second, became for a short period annexed to France, and in some measure incorporated with the French monarchy. The Spanish Netherlands seemed to be on the point of passing permanently into the house of Valois, in the person of Francis, Duke of Alençon, youngest of the sons of Henry the Second. Catharine herself laid claim to the vacant sceptre of Portugal, on the death of the Cardinal King Henry, in 1580; and afterwards endeavoured, though vainly, to place on the Portuguese throne, an illegitimate descendant of its antient monarchs. Her political intrigues, which pervaded the most remote countries; by a singular caprice of fortune, raised to the Polish crown, one of her sons, Henry, Duke of Anjou, after the extinction of the reigning family of Jagellon. Elizabeth, Queen of England, herself, notwithstanding the numerous reasons which should have induced her to dread a French matrimonial alliance, yet appeared to incline towards accepting the hand of the Duke of Alençon. Germany, Spain, and Switzerland, as well as many of the Italian states, were active participants

ticipators in all the troubles of France, and lent their assistance to one, or the other, of the contending parties.

In order, therefore, to read the French History with information, and to derive from its perusal that enlarged instruction, which it is peculiarly calculated to convey; it becomes indispensable to survey previously the state of Europe. By comparing the relative situation, force, and progress of the respective countries which composed it, we shall be assisted in forming those deductions, without which, the mere narration of events is neither productive of much utility nor benefit. The present age, familiar with the writings of Hume, Robertson, Henry, and so many other models of composition; expects from an historian, a comprehensive view of the time and period in all its bearings and relations: not the dry recapitulation of battles, treaties, and alliances. The avowed object of the work now undertaken, is to present such a picture. In contemplating the European System, as it existed at the death of Charles the Ninth of France, in 1574, it is natural for us to begin with England.

A
V I E W
OF THE
CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL STATE
OF
E U R O P E,
AT THE
DEATH OF CHARLES THE NINTH,
IN 1574.

CHAP. I.
ENGLAND.

Review of the English History, from the death of Henry the Eighth, to the accession of Elizabeth. — Survey of the principal events of Elizabeth's reign, to the year 1574. — State of England at that period. — Foreign and domestic policy of the Queen. — Ministers and favourites. — Government and constitution. — Revenues. — Military force. — Navy. — Commerce. — Navigation. — Manufactures. — Population. — Police. — Letters.

SINCE the æra of the Norman conquest, which event had transferred the English sceptre to a race of foreign princes, and which was succeeded

CHAP.
I.
General
review of

CHAP. I. succeeded by a general change of the private property of the kingdom; no reign, during near five centuries, had been productive of alterations so vast, or so permanent in their consequences, as that of Henry the Eighth. The successful wars, waged by the Barons and great vassals of the crown, against John, and Henry the Third, had rather tended to secure the independence of the nobility, than to emancipate the people; who in that age were, from a multiplicity of causes, equally incapable of comprehending, as of enjoying, the advantages of a free constitution, and a limited monarchy. The victorious inroads of Edward the First upon Scotland, and the final reduction of that country, which he appeared to have nearly atchieved, a short time before his decease, were as rapidly checked and overturned under his successor. Even the brilliant career of Edward the Third, and of Henry the Fifth, in France, though calculated to dazzle their subjects, and to ornament the page of history, had neither produced any beneficial, nor any permanent effect. The victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; the captivity of John, and the marriage of Henry the Fifth with Catherine, daughter of Charles the Sixth, which was designed to cement the union of the two crowns; — all these efforts to subjugate France, had been successively rendered abortive by the desperate valour, or by the wisdom and policy, of the French princes. Debility, languor, and civil commotions, had followed these violent efforts, which seemed to have

I.
the Eng-
lish His-
tory.

have exceeded the strength, while they exhausted the resources of England. CHAP. I.

The long contest, and alternate triumphs, of the two houses of York and Lancaster, which had deluged the kingdom with blood, terminated in the extinction of the family of Plantagenet; while at the same time, they impeded the introduction of order, science, and civilization. At the accession of Henry the Seventh, England was depopulated; the inhabitants were rendered ferocious, from their familiarity with scenes of anarchy and violence; while the connection with foreign states, commercial or political, was almost annihilated under the pressure of domestic calamities.

1485.

The slow and sagacious policy of that artful monarch, by permitting and encouraging the alienation of the estates of the nobility, had begun to sap the edifice of the feudal system, and to open the prospect of wealth and consideration to the commons. But it was reserved for his son, Henry the Eighth, to effect changes equally salutary, and far more comprehensive in their operation. The abolition of the monastic orders; the confiscation and seizure of their property; the renunciation of the papal supremacy; and the subversion of so many tenets or usages, sanctified by prescription, and enjoined by superstition; — these mighty innovations, civil and religious, had not been equalled or paralleled in any preceding age; and though they originated in the furious passions, or the insatiable rapacity of the King, yet they became

Reign of
Henry the
Eighth.

1509.

STATE OF EUROPE.

4
CHAP. eventually productive of the happiest consequences to his people. A spirit of inquiry and disquisition, favourable to the progress of learning, succeeded to the torpid indolence of the cloyster; while the unlimited tyranny, which Henry had acquired and exercised over the minds and persons of his subjects, enabled him, in his wars or negotiations with other princes, to call into action, and to direct with energy and effect, all the vigour of the state.

1540—

1547.

If we survey the condition of England towards the termination of his life and reign, we shall find, notwithstanding the political errors which he committed from caprice, or from impetuosity; notwithstanding his prodigality of the public treasure, and the unrelenting barbarity of temper, which in its paroxysms of rage or of jealousy, spared neither his wives, his ministers, nor his favourites; yet, that the monarchy occupied a rank in the scale of Europe, only inferior to those of France and Spain. Henry's severe administration had nearly established a profound repose throughout his own dominions, in an age of theological controversy, when the minds of men were inflamed to the greatest degree of mutual virulence and animosity. Coercing equally the Catholic and the Protestant part of his subjects, he imposed his own rule of faith, and religious dogmas, upon the followers of both persuasions. During his last rupture with France, though he had been abandoned by his ally, the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and had been left alone in
the

the contest; he had notwithstanding effected the reduction of the town and territory of Boulogne, and retained its possession, at the subsequent treaty of peace. Ireland had given him no disturbance, nor excited any commotion against his government, during the last thirteen years of his reign. The premature death of James the Fifth; the struggles for power which ensued; the minority of the young Queen, afterwards the unfortunate Mary; and more than all these causes combined, the internal convulsions excited by the introduction and rapid progress of the Reformation; had disabled the Scots from sustaining the repeated inroads, or repelling the invasions, made by Henry on their frontiers. Though, from his characteristic violence, he failed in the only wise and rational object of policy, namely, that of uniting the two kingdoms, by the marriage of his son Edward with Mary; yet his arms, which had obtained the most decided superiority over Scotland, left him no cause of apprehension from that dangerous quarter. The Emperor Charles the Fifth, notwithstanding numerous domestic and political subjects of disgust which Henry had given him, was anxious to maintain an amicable correspondence with a sovereign, who had already extended, and was competent to lend at any future time, the most effectual assistance to the Smalcaldic League, composed of the Protestant princes of the German empire. The thunders of the Vatican, so formidable in the thirteenth century, now

CHAP.
I.
1540—
1547.

C H A P. vainly levelled at Henry, had lost their force,
 I. and excited neither terror, nor attention.^a

1547—
 1553.
 Reign of
 Edward
 the Sixth.

In this state of affairs, the crown devolved to Edward the Sixth; but, during the short period of six years, within which his reign is comprised, many of the advantages derived from the vigour of his father's government, were successively lost or sacrificed. The royal power, diminished in the unskilful hands of the Duke of Somerset, uncle to the young King, and Protector of the realm, no longer inspired the dread, or excited the respect, which it had so long been accustomed to produce. Internal dissensions divided the counsels, and enfeebled the exertions of England. The Protector, after reluctantly bringing his own brother, Lord Seymour, to the block, for his criminal and dangerous intrigues; was himself in a short time deprived of his office, and eventually conducted to the scaffold, by the arts of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Somerset, in the beginning of his administration, had obtained a signal victory over the Scots, at Pinkey; which, if it had been rapidly and vigorously pursued, might have enabled him to dictate conditions to that country, scarcely less compulsory than those formerly imposed by Edward the First. But his apprehension of the influence which Lord Seymour was attempting to establish during his absence, prevented his reaping any solid advantage from his success. It proved

^a Rapin, Hume, passim.

even injurious to his sovereign and to England, CHAP. I.
 by affording a pretext and an occasion for
 transporting the young Queen Mary, then in a
 state of childhood, to the court of France,
 where she was educated, and betrothed to the
 Dauphin Francis; an event equally productive
 of eventual misfortunes to herself, and to Scot-
 land. Though the Reformation had been
 adopted in England, and zealously supported
 by the government, yet the German princes of
 that persuasion, abandoned to their fate, were
 finally overpowered by the Emperor Charles the
 Fifth. Boulogne, acquired at an immense ex-
 pence, under the preceding reign, was tamely
 surrendered to the French, for an inconsiderable
 pecuniary sum. The young King, whose extra-
 ordinary endowments of understanding, and
 excellent qualities of heart, had excited the most
 flattering expectations in his subjects of future
 felicity under his administration; was snatched
 away at a period, when his virtues might soon
 have been actively exerted for their protection
 and benefit. He was even induced, during the
 progress of the distemper which conducted him
 to the grave, to entail a civil war upon his do-
 minions, by invading the natural order of suc-
 cession, and by calling to the throne a princess,
 who could claim no just right to it from proxi-
 mity of blood or of descent. The Lady Jane
 Grey, who was proclaimed queen, expiated her
 momentary and unwilling acceptance of the
 crown, by an early death upon the scaffold.^b

^b Hume, Rapin, passim.

CHAP.

I.

1553—

1558.

Reign of
Mary.

All those, to whom either the honour of their country, or the general rights of humanity are dear, must turn away with a degree of disgust from the reign of Mary. The first act of her government, which was the punishment of the ambition and crimes of the Duke of Northumberland, is almost the only measure which excites our approbation. Her narrow and furious bigotry, combined with the inhumanity and asperity of her temper, impelled her to attempt the extirpation of heresy by every cruel and sanguinary mode, which inquisitorial rancour could devise. Imbued with all the hereditary superstition of the house of Austria, and of her mother Catherine of Arragon, she wanted capacity to moderate and direct its violence. She completed the unpopularity of her administration, by contracting a marriage with Philip, Prince of Spain; a husband to whom the leading features of her mind and character bore a striking similarity. Though fortunately for her people, this union proved unproductive of issue, yet to the gratification of his animosity or ambition, she deliberately sacrificed the glory and the interests of her own kingdom. In contradiction equally to the dictates of policy, and to the ties of good faith between nations, she violated the peace subsisting with France; and took an active part in the war then carrying on between Philip and Henry the Second. By a retribution, as singular as it was just, she became the victim of this infraction of treaties: at a moment when her husband and ally having

obtained the memorable victory of Saint Quintin, seemed to be on the point of dictating, at the gates of Paris, his own terms to the French monarch, Mary received the most humiliating blow. From the criminal neglect and parsimony of the court, as much as by the well-directed enterprize of Francis, Duke of Guise, Calais was unexpectedly attacked and taken in a few days. This place, which the circumstances of its original capture by Edward the Third, the possession of more than two hundred years, and the facility which it afforded to invade the dominions of France, had rendered not less dear to the pride and the prejudices of the English nation, than is Gibraltar in the present age, was irrecoverably lost. One only public benefit might be said to have resulted from the misfortune; as the agitation of mind which the Queen underwent at so disgraceful an event, aided and accelerated the progress of those distempers, under which her frame was already hastening to decay. She expired towards the close of the same year; leaving an exhausted exchequer, an enfeebled country, and a memory deservedly odious to the latest posterity.^c

Such were the circumstances of national depression, under which Elizabeth ascended the English throne; but the first measures which she embraced, proved to her subjects, and to all Europe, that the sceptre had passed into hands capable of swaying it with energy and

CHAP.
I.
1558.

^c Rapin, Hume, passim.

effect.

CHAP. effect. The enlargement of her mind, and her
 I. superiority to the dictates of personal revenge,
 1558. induced her to receive with benignity even
 those persons, who during the late reign, had
 stimulated the bigotry of Mary, to acts of se-
 verity or violence against her; and who, not
 content with endeavouring to exclude her from
 the succession to the throne, had meditated to
 conduct her to the scaffold. This contempt of in-
 juries was not less the effect of an enlightened
 and liberal policy, than of natural magnanimity.
 Though attached to the reformed religion, from
 education and conviction, yet in the protection
 which she extended to the Protestant doctrines,
 as in almost every other feature of her public
 character, the precautions of a wise and cau-
 tious government repressed the indiscreet zeal
 or enthusiasm, so characteristic of that age of
 innovation. The change of the national worship
 and profession of faith, was conducted with
 temper, exempt from every unnecessary violence,
 and even accommodated in some degree, to the
 prejudices of her Catholic subjects^d. The po-
 pularity of her manners, heightened by the
 graciousness of her demeanour, acquired the
 affections of the people; and in these com-
 mendable arts, she has scarcely been ex-
 ceeded by any prince of whom we read, in
 modern, or in ancient history.

1559.
 Her foreign
 policy.

While she displayed qualities so beneficial in
 her domestic administration, her situation with

^d Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 5—8. Camden's Annals
 of Elizabeth, p. 5, 6.

respect

respect to foreign powers, demanded equal sagacity to discern, and ability to conduct, the interests of her crown. Two powerful princes, Philip and Henry, occupied the thrones of Spain and of France. The former, after the death of Mary, unwilling to lose so rich an accession to his dominions as England might prove, offered her his friendship, and even solicited her hand in marriage. The latter sovereign, already in possession of Calais, refused to cede or to restore, on any conditions, so valuable an acquisition. Her address, and the wisdom of her counsels, were equally conspicuous in her conduct towards both these monarchs. While she prudently temporised with Philip, she allured him with hopes of conceding to his wishes, until she had effected the important changes, religious and civil, which were indispensable on her first accession. She then tempered her refusal of his offer, with every profession of personal regard calculated to diminish its effect, by retaining the good will, at the same time that she rejected the proposal, of the King of Spain.^c

Conscious that the juncture was unfavourable for the recovery of Calais from Henry, by open force; and that in the exhausted state of the kingdom, repose as well as frugality were requisite to establish the foundation of her throne, together with the national grandeur; she prudently yielded to the necessity which these circumstances imposed on her. Yet in the treaty

^c Camden, p. 4.

CHAP. of peace soon afterwards concluded with the
 I. French crown, she not only retained her pre-
 1559, tensions to Calais, but supported her own dig-
 1560. nity, while she flattered the pride of the English
 nation, by stipulating for its restitution at the
 end of eight years. She knew however how to
 appreciate, and how to despise this possession,
 when opposed to more important interests of
 state. Only a few months subsequent, when
 the court of France affected to offer the imme-
 diate restoration of the place and its dependant
 territory, on the condition that she would with-
 draw her troops from Scotland, she rejected the
 proposal with disdain.^f

1560—
 1568.
 Her policy
 towards
 Scotland.

The masculine understanding and vigilant
 policy of Elizabeth, were never so fully exerted
 or manifested, as in her conduct towards the
 last-mentioned kingdom; which occupied her
 whole reign, and formed the most essential ob-
 ject of her unremitting attention. By a singular
 coincidence of circumstances, the crown of
 Scotland had devolved at this period, like that
 of England, to a female. Both princesses, in
 different ways, might equally lay claim to ad-
 miration. Mary, Queen of Scots, was pecu-
 liarly formed to excite the compassion, as
 well as to conciliate the affection, of the age in
 which she lived, and of the remotest posterity.
 Her personal beauty, her address, her accom-
 plishments, and her undaunted spirit displayed
 under circumstances the most distressful, im-

^f Ibid. p. 11—14. Rapin's Hist. of England, octavo, vol. vii.
 195—197. Hume, vol. v. p. 16—18.

press us with involuntary sentiments of regard. CHAP.
 Her errors, or rather her crimes, challenge, it is I.
 true, our detestation; but they are in some 1560—
 measure effaced by her misfortunes, if not ex- 1568.
 piated by her long imprisonment and tragical
 death. In the science of reigning, as well as in
 all the arts of rendering her people happy, and
 herself respected, we must however allow that
 she proved herself far inferior to her illustrious
 rival. Elizabeth, actuated by the personal
 jealousy of a woman, while she was not less
 powerfully impelled by her apprehension of
 Mary's designs against her crown, exhausted
 all the subtle refinements of an insidious and
 unprincipled policy, in exciting such domestic
 disturbances against the Queen of Scots, as
 might effectually restrain her from carrying
 into execution her plans of aggrandizement.
 She succeeded in this endeavour to such a
 degree, that even against the wishes of her own
 subjects, and in defiance of the addresses of
 both houses of parliament, she ultimately pre-
 vented Mary from being acknowledged as pre-
 sumptive heir to the crown of England.

The fatal imprudence and misconduct of
 the latter princess; her acquiescence or parti-
 cipation in the murder of her unworthy hus-
 band, Lord Darnley; followed by her immediate
 marriage with the Earl of Bothwell; — in a
 word, that series of infatuation and of enor-
 mities, which stains and degrades her character,
 gave to Elizabeth advantages, that no supe-
 riority of power or of capacity could ever have
 pro-

CH A P. procured her. Mary, precipitated into infamy
 I. and ruin, imprisoned and dethroned by her own
 1560— rebellious subjects, defeated in her attempts to
 1568. re-ascend the throne, and dreading the last
 degree of violence if she fell alive into their
 hands, embraced the most fatal and irremediable
 of all expedients; that of flying for refuge and
 protection to Elizabeth, whom she had injured,
 and by whom she was detested. The Queen of
 England improved to its utmost extent this
 extraordinary interposition of fortune, which
 laid at her feet the object of her hatred and
 terror. Every profession of sympathy and con-
 cern, every blandishment of generous friend-
 ship, were at first assumed and expressed, in
 order to deceive the captive Queen, and there-
 by induce her to submit the arbitration of her
 cause to the justice of Elizabeth. Anxious only
 to expose to the eyes of all Europe, the crimes
 of the unfortunate princess; and firmly deter-
 mined never to release her, or permit her to
 resume the crown of Scotland, expedients were
 not wanting to prolong the final decision on the
 question of her innocence. Mary, transferred
 successively to different prisons, and denied all
 access to the Queen of England, beheld her
 youth pass away in vain attempts, on the part
 of her numerous partizans, both within and
 without the kingdom, to procure her freedom
 and revenge.*

1569.

Her do-
mestic po-
licy.

The vigilant administration of Elizabeth,
 which continually discovered all the intrigues or

* Camden, Rapin, Hume, passim.

conspiracies set on foot, to restore the Queen of Scots, soon rendered them ineffectual. Of her two uncles, the Duke of Guise had already perished by the hand of an assassin; and the Cardinal of Lorrain, though still disposed to exert his unwearied efforts for placing her on the throne of England, no longer possessed that unlimited influence over the counsels of France, which he had enjoyed during the short reign of Francis the Second. The Duke of Norfolk, after having embarked in her cause, and even stipulated to marry her, lost his head for these criminal and reiterated plots. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who commenced a premature insurrection in the northern counties, were defeated and compelled to fly for safety into foreign kingdoms. Similar enterprizes, undertaken by the zealous Catholics, met with the same ill success. Nor were the interpositions and exertions of France and Spain, attended with more fortunate consequences. The former country, plunged in civil dissensions; governed by a minor king, Charles the Ninth; and torn by contending factions; was little able to interfere with vigour and effect, by force of arms. The expostulations of successive French ambassadors in behalf of Mary, affectingly made rather to preserve appearances, than with any serious wish or expectation of extricating her, were easily eluded, or answered by complaints on the part of Elizabeth. Philip, the most powerful sovereign in Europe, bigotted to the Catholic faith, and the determined enemy of England,

CHAP. I. England, might indeed have employed more decisive means to enforce his demands. But, the revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands which took place at this precise time, and the employment which his arms found in endeavouring to subject those provinces, incapacitated him during a considerable part of his reign, from making any hostile invasion of Elizabeth's dominions; though his general, the Duke of Alva, aiding the wishes of Philip, repeatedly attempted to excite rebellions within the kingdom. From Scotland itself, she would have remained still liable to inroads the most ruinous and frequent, if Mary's supporters had been in a condition to annoy her upon that vulnerable quarter; but, after the flight of the Scottish Queen, and the complete depression of her party, it was not difficult for so able a princess as Elizabeth, to procure a decided superiority in favour of her adherents. A regent, the Earl of Murray, natural son to James the Fifth, devoted to her interests, supported by her forces, and almost subsisting on her bounty; while he retained Scotland in obedience, governed the country, under the infant son of Mary, who was declared king^b. By these wise and active measures, Elizabeth not only maintained England in peace, but excited respect or terror in every court of Europe.

If, after the review of her conduct towards the captive Queen of Scots, we survey the great outlines of her policy with respect to France

^b Hume, vol. v. p. 124—126.

and Spain, we shall be compelled to own that C H A P.
 it was equally masculine, and successful in its I.
 results. She possessed sufficient discernment 1569—
 to perceive that the time was past, when her 1574.
 father, Henry the Eighth, holding the balance
 of power between Charles the Fifth and Francis
 the First, the two greatest European sovereigns;
 could decide as his interests or his caprice dic-
 tated, in favour of either one, or the other of
 those princes. Elizabeth reigned by a question-
 able title, and by a disputed claim. Her mo-
 ther Anne Boleyn's marriage, followed by her
 untimely death, had cast doubts over the legiti-
 macy of her own birth; and even many of her
 subjects held the pretensions of Mary to be
 superior in validity. Nor was this the only cir-
 cumstance which rendered her liable to danger
 and attack. She was the head and the protec-
 tress of the reformed religion; and though
 she appears rather to have been driven to the
 necessity of placing herself in the situation,
 than to have adopted it from any strong enthu-
 siasm for the tenets of the Protestant faith, yet
 she could derive little advantage from her mode-
 ration or liberality upon that article.

Theological disputes, and a sanguinary zeal
 against heresy, had in a great measure super-
 seded or suspended the political interests, which
 during half a century involved the monarchies
 of France and Spain in perpetual hostilities.
 Philip the Second and Charles the Ninth, or
 more properly, his mother Catherine of Medi-
 cis, sacrificing to their mutual bigotry and de-

Measures
 embraced
 by Philip
 the Second.

C H A P. testation of the reformers, all the subjects of territorial contest between the two crowns, had recently entered into the closest alliance. The conferences which had been held at Bayonne, between Catherine and the Duke of Alva, were universally supposed to have for their principal object, the extirpation of the Hugonots. An attack upon England, would have been regarded as a Crusade, meriting the immediate benediction of Heaven. Elizabeth lay under a papal excommunication, and successive Pontiffs had absolved her subjects from all allegiance to her person or government. The enmity of France was faintly concealed, through the veil of exterior regard and professions of amity; nor did that profligate court hesitate to exert the most perfidious duplicity, in order to lull the circumspection of Elizabeth, and to diminish her vigilance. Philip, though during the short life of Francis the Second, he had been restrained from acting in a hostile manner towards the Queen, by the dread of seeing the crown of England united to those of France and Scotland, under one head; was no sooner released from his apprehensions by the death of the French king, than he threw off the mask. The Queen endeavoured by every mark of personal respect, but in vain, to preserve his friendship; or at all events, to deprecate and allay the resentment of so powerful a prince. He sullenly refused the order of the Garter which she tendered him, and declined renewing the ancient league subsisting between the houses of England and of Burgundy.

These

These first demonstrations of alienation, were C H A P.
 followed by more unequivocal proofs of hos- I.
 tility. The English ambassadors in Spain were 1569—
 wantonly insulted; and no satisfaction was 1570.
 made for the capture of three ships, com-
 manded by Sir John Hawkins, on the coast
 of Mexico. Elizabeth, nevertheless, yielding
 to the necessity of the time, embarrassed with
 the Queen of Scots, and aware of the insi-
 dious treachery of the French court; pru-
 dently dissembled her sense of these injuries,
 and waited for a more favourable moment, in
 which to take vengeance on Philip. The trou-
 bles that arose in the Netherlands, soon afforded
 her an occasion, of which she availed herself.
 Without apparently violating the peace with
 Spain, or involving herself in open hostilities
 with that monarchy, she effectually defeated the
 schemes of the Duke of Alva, by seizing and re-
 taining, at a most critical juncture, a very large
 sum belonging to Philip, which some Genoese
 merchants were employed in remitting to
 Antwerp. Though she accompanied this act
 with excuses, and with assurances of restitution,
 the consequences proved fatal and irremediable
 to Spain.

Towards France, of whose power she stood
 less in awe, her conduct was more decided, and
 her interference clearly avowed in their intes-
 tine commotions. At a very early period of
 her reign, when the civil wars commenced in
 that country, she sent a powerful succour to
 Louis, Prince of Condé, then commanding the
 forces of the Hugonots; who, as a pledge for
 repay-

Interfe-
 rence of
 Elizabeth
 in French
 affairs.

C H A P. repayment of her assistance, delivered up the
 I. port and town of Havre de Grace into her
 1569— possession. After the pacification which shortly
 1574. afterwards took place between Charles the
 Ninth and his revolted subjects; they having
 jointly invested Havre, and the plague co-ope-
 rating with famine, it was surrendered by capi-
 tulation. So impolitic a return for her protec-
 tion, did not however prevent the Queen from
 renewing her support, when the dissensions re-
 vived in France; and she extended, after
 Condé's defeat and death at the battle of
 Jarnac, the same aid to Coligni, who succeeded
 to the command of the Protestant armies. Yet
 even this open act of participation with insur-
 gents, she qualified by her ambassador at the
 court of France; and avoided carefully involv-
 ing her kingdom in war, while it appeared pos-
 sible to attain the same object by indirect
 exertions.

Perfidious
 policy of
 Charles the
 Ninth.

Charles on the other hand, who had already
 determined to massacre the rebels whom he
 could not subdue, and who in consequence of
 that resolution had granted them an advan-
 tageous peace, dissembled his indignation at
 Elizabeth's conduct. With a view of extinguish-
 ing the remembrance of past misunderstandings,
 he even made every flattering advance to obtain
 her friendship and alliance. Having long been
 invested, himself, with the order of the Garter,
 he now proposed to enter into the closest con-
 nections with England, by setting on foot a nego-
 ciation for the marriage of his brother Henry,
 Duke

Duke of Anjou, with the Queen. She affected to listen with apparent complacency, to an offer which flattered her personal vanity; and, conscious that on the pretext of religion, she could at any time break off the final conclusion of the treaty, she permitted it to be discussed, and the leading articles to be agitated by their respective ministers. The massacre of Paris, which quickly followed, unveiled to her the deep and perfidious designs of the French court; designs, which were not only levelled at Coligni and his adherents, but had for their object, the extermination of the Protestant religion throughout every country of Europe. She dreaded the union of Charles and Philip, and saw her own probable destruction as resulting from so unequal a combination against England. Happily, the new commotions which immediately arose in the dominions of the former prince, where the Hugonots, more exasperated than subdued, exerted the most successful efforts against the crown, in a considerable degree calmed her apprehensions from that quarter.

The state of the armies and revenues of Spain, which were drained by the wars in the Low Countries, reluctantly compelled Philip to postpone, though not finally to lay aside, his projects of conquest and revenge against Elizabeth. Yet, conscious of the delicacy and danger of her situation, which required not only vigilance, but dissimulation, she adapted her conduct to it with wonderful skill and versatility. To Philip, she continued, even when sending se-

CHAP.
I.
1569—
1574.

Elizabeth
tempo-
rizes.

C H A P. I. 1569—1574. cret assistance to his subjects in the Netherlands, to make professions of neutrality and amity. She admitted the ambassador of Charles to pronounce the apology, and to state the pretended reasons of his sovereign, for exterminating his unarmed and unsuspecting subjects. From similar motives, she not only moderated the expressions of her indignation at this act of sanguinary treachery, but she affected to suppose that it had not been premeditated on the part of the King. Though well aware of the little reliance to be placed upon the oaths or the treaties made with such a prince, she permitted the negociation to be renewed, for her marriage with Francis, Duke of Alençon, Charles's second brother. Elizabeth even sent one of the first noblemen of her court, to assist as her representative at the baptism of the infant daughter of the King of France, and appeared to cultivate that monarch's friendship with the utmost sincerity.¹

Her arts
and pre-
cautions.

While she made so many sacrifices to policy, and to her personal safety, she neglected no precaution that might enable her to meet and to overcome the dangers, which menaced her tranquillity. She redoubled her vigilance in discovering and repressing the plots of her Catholic subjects, perpetually renewed in favour of Mary. She wisely courted all the arts of popularity, augmented her navy, exercised her people to arms, and renewed her alliance with the German princes of

¹ Camden's Annals, p. 103—178. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 344—396. Hume, vol. v. p. 167—210.

the Protestant persuasion. By these efforts, she placed herself in a condition to sustain any attack, which her inveterate enemies might make; and the affectionate zeal of her parliament and people, grateful for the blessings of her government, seconded the exertions of their sovereign.

CH A P.

I.

1569—

1574.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the death of Charles the Ninth having taken place, Henry the Third, at that time in Poland, succeeded to the throne of France.

The Queen, who had nearly completed her forty-first year, was in the plenitude of her vigour and talents. Though, if considered as a woman, she appears to have laboured under many of the characteristic weaknesses or defects of her sex; yet, as a monarch, she united almost every great endowment which could conciliate esteem, awaken affection, or inspire respect. The violence, caprice, and tyranny of Henry the Eighth, are certainly to be traced in many of her actions. Nor can it be denied that the vanity, coquetry, and inordinate passion for admiration, which distinguished Anne Boleyn, and which conduced to her ruin, were carried to a much more inexcusable height by her daughter. Her conduct towards Mary, Queen of Scots, however it may be palliated by state necessity, excites disapprobation, and even awakens some degree of abhorrence. The malignity with which she persecuted the unfortunate Catherine Gray, Countess of Hertford, sister to Lady Jane Gray, whose only crime seems to have been her descent

1574.

May.

Character
of Eliza-
beth.

C H A P.

I.

1574.

from the blood-royal of England, by Mary, youngest daughter of Henry the Seventh, cannot be too strongly reprobated. Perhaps more than either of these acts, her selection of Robert Dudley for her favourite, and the continued protection which she extended to so dangerous and profligate a man, during almost the whole course of his life; in a public point of view, calls for the greatest condemnation. But these vices or faults were eclipsed by her frugality, vigilance, magnanimity, wisdom, and unwearied attention to the tranquillity and prosperity of her people. They repaid her exertions with the warmest attachment, and were fully sensible of their felicity in being governed by so great a princess.

State of the
kingdom
at this
period.

In 1574, the internal troubles and commotions, which had so frequently disturbed her repose, were become in a great measure extinct, and their causes removed. Her prisoner, the Queen of Scots, languishing in confinement, and transferred successively to various places of security, was detained in the castle of Tutbury, situate in a central part of England, under the guard of the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon. The party attached to that princess, wearied with vain efforts for her release and re-establishment, had sunk into despondency, their hopes having become extinguished with the death of the Duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth, after a delay of some months, and a reluctance, which seems, as far as we can judge, to have been real, signed an order for his execution; and his head was struck off

off upon Tower-hill^{*}. The rebellion, rashly commenced in the northern Counties, had left behind scarcely any traces. No part of the Queen's dominions, during her whole reign, caused her however more disquietude, or occasioned her more expence, than Ireland. The unsettled and uncivilized nature of the island; the feuds continually subsisting between the Irish chiefs; their bigotted adherence to the Catholic faith; and the effect produced among so ferocious a people, by the papal Bull of Pius the Fifth, excommunicating Elizabeth; — these causes gave birth to perpetual revolts, which, though speedily quelled or repressed by the lord-deputies, yet drained the royal coffers, and painfully exercised the unremitting attention of the government. In Scotland, the last remaining adherents of Mary had either submitted themselves voluntarily to the established order of things, or were reduced to obedience by force of arms, and the leaders capitally punished. The castle of Edinburgh, which still held out for the imprisoned queen, being taken by the English, her partizans were finally vanquished. The Earl of Morton, chosen Regent after the successive deaths of the Earls of Mar and Lenox, depended wholly upon Elizabeth, to whom he looked up for support and protection¹. In the Low Countries, her implacable and powerful adversary, the Duke of Alva, who had aided every attempt against her person and government, was at length recalled by the King of Spain. His successor, Requesens,

C H A P.

I.

1574.

Ireland.

Scotland.

Nether-
lands.^{*} Hume, vol. v. p. 199.¹ Rapin, vol. vii. p. 386—392.

C H A P. a man of milder disposition, rather endeavoured
 I. to cultivate her friendship, than to widen the
 1574. breach. The revolted subjects of Philip, in the
 maritime provinces of Holland and Zealand,
 already regarding her as their protectress, sued
 for her assistance.^m

France. From the power of France, she had no immediate cause for alarm. The decease of Charles the Ninth, the absence and distance of Henry, who was in Poland at the time of his brother's death; the distracted state of the country, the weakness of the French crown, and the diversion which might at any moment be made in her favour, by the Hugonots;—all these circumstances seemed to guarantee her security. Spain was a more formidable enemy; and she constantly, during the whole course of her reign, kept her eye fixed upon that bigotted and vindictive court. But neither had she hitherto altogether ceased to observe some measures with Philip, nor had he as yet leisure and ability to bend the whole force of his monarchy against England. With Sebastian, the young King of Portugal, she had recently contracted an alliance, and terminated some differences relative to commerce, which had subsisted between the subjects of the two countries, ever since the time of Edward the Sixthⁿ. The Emperor Maximilian the Second, who always professed for her the most partial esteem, had even exerted his interest at the court of Rome, to prevent the excommunication with

^m Camden, p. 173.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 147.

which

which she was menaced by Gregory the Thirteenth. Elizabeth repaid his attention, by every act of regard, and treated him on all occasions, with a sort of filial deference, as to a father. When his daughter, the Archduchess Anne, was married to Philip the Second, she sent a fleet, commanded by Lord Howard, to escort the Princess from Zealand into Spain. At the nuptials of another of the Emperor's daughters, Elizabeth, who espoused Charles the Ninth of France; the Queen, from similar motives, dispatched a splendid embassy to assist at the ceremony°. The protestant princes of the German empire courted her friendship; and even from the extremities of Europe, John Basilowitz, Czar of Muscovy, not only granted peculiar commercial immunities to her subjects, but solicited her alliance, and warmly urged her to enter into the closest stipulations for their mutual safety, in case of expulsion from their respective dominions.

The high consideration to which the Queen had attained in the estimation of foreign courts, was the natural result of that energy and vigilance, which distinguished her domestic counsels and government. Though many of the greatest names which adorn her annals, appeared at a later period of her reign; yet the persons employed at this time in the highest offices of trust, have merited the applauses of posterity, and may be reckoned among the most illustrious

Ministers,
and favourites
of
Elizabeth.

° Ibid. p. 129. 136. Hume, vol. v. p. 208. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 388.

CHAP. I. men whom England has ever produced. At their head, must be placed Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State; whom she raised, after thirteen years of service, to the dignity of a Baron, by the name of Lord Burleigh^p. His sagacity, application, and devotion to the interests of his mistress, induced her soon afterwards to nominate him Lord high Treasurer, in which employment he continued to his death. Though accused by his enemies, as Sully was equally, of too great a disposition to parsimony, and of repressing the bounty of the Queen towards those, who had impoverished themselves in the service of the state; he nevertheless stands deservedly in the first rank of wise and able ministers. He even ventured more than once, to oppose the indiscreet profusion of dignities and honours, which she heaped upon the Earl of Leicester, precisely as Sully endeavoured to restrain the improvident bounty of Henry the Fourth to his mistresses; and in such a contradiction to her avowed partiality, Lord Burleigh manifested the greatest elevation of mind, and regard to the public interests.

Walsingham.

The talents of Sir Francis Walsingham were scarcely inferior, and his virtue was more pure, more Roman, than that of Cecil. At this period of Elizabeth's reign, he acted as her ambassador at the court of France, where his vigilance gave her timely intimation of many of the treacherous measures, designed to invade her repose.

^p Camden, p.163.

His

His disinterestedness and active precautions for her security, which diminished his private fortune, reduced him to such poverty, after a life of public service, as to render it necessary that his daughter, on her marriage, should be portioned by the Queen. Such acts of personal renunciation are not common, and awaken our admiration in no ordinary degree. We should vainly look for similar proofs of public virtue, in ages of greater refinement, and higher civilization. Aristides and Cincinnatus, both belong to the early periods of the Athenian and the Roman republics.

Throckmorton, who was endowed with extraordinary abilities, which he had displayed in many arduous, as well as delicate situations, having offended Lord Burleigh, had met with a return from Elizabeth, inadequate to his faithful services; and he died a short time before the elevation of that nobleman to the post of High Treasurer^a. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, derived not more eminence from his own capacity, than from having given birth to a son, whose comprehensive genius eclipsed the talents of his father, and embraced almost every species of literary enquiry. Drake, sprung from an obscure family, but destined to perform the most glorious naval achievements, after having already signalized himself by a bold and successful attack made upon the Spaniards in America; was preparing to carry his depredations beyond Cape Horn into the Pacific

CHAP.
I.
1574.

Throck-
morton.

Bacon.

Drake.

^a Camden, p. 130.

Ocean,

CHAP. Ocean, where none of his countrymen had
 I. hitherto ventured. Raleigh, afterwards so re-
 1574. nowned, as well as so unfortunate, the rival of
 Raleigh. Bacon and of Drake in their different careers,
 first appeared in the succours sent by Elizabeth
 to Coligni, where his courage and capacity
 rendered him distinguished among the English
 youth.

Leicester. This list is disgraced by the Earl of Leicester,
 whose influence, founded only on exterior graces
 of person or manners, and whose character,
 composed of the most odious vices, reflect
 dishonour on his mistress's choice. The truth
 of history will not, however, permit the omis-
 sion of a man, whose ascendancy over the mind
 of Elizabeth, can only be compared to that
 which Bothwell obtained over Mary, Queen of
 Scots; and whose crimes scarcely appear to
 have merited a milder fate. Like him, Leices-
 ter, after having, as was commonly believed,
 accelerated the death of his own wife, aspired
 to his sovereign's bed; and though Elizabeth's
 jealousy of any participation in her authority,
 or other more unascertained causes, prevented
 her from giving to her favourite this last proof
 of his empire, and of her own weakness; he
 nevertheless attained to so exorbitant a height
 of power, as to shake the Queen's popularity,
 and considerably to diminish the respect paid
 to her person and government.

Constitu-
 tion of
 England.

If, after this survey of Elizabeth's personal cha-
 racter, of her ministers and measures, we permit
 ourselves, divested of prejudice, to contemplate

and appreciate the political constitution of England under her reign ; we must be compelled to admit, that notwithstanding the apparent forms of a limited monarchy which subsisted, it approached in many essential points, to the nature of despotism. The throne was not only intrenched behind numberless branches of prerogative, transmitted by the Plantagenets, to the Tudors, in themselves the most inimical to liberty ; but it was surrounded by tribunals subversive of civil or religious freedom. The dispensing power alone, which was acknowledged to reside in the crown, rendered its possessor paramount to all parliamentary laws. The right of arbitrary imprisonment, equally arrogated, subjected every individual to arrest and detention. Monopolies, granted at pleasure, and often to the most undeserving persons, imposed ruinous fetters or restrictions on general industry. Benevolences and loans, arbitrarily exacted, rendered insecure every species of property^r. As if so many oppressive claims or powers were not found sufficient to retain the people in subjection, and to awe the most enterprising or seditious ; courts of criminal justice likewise existed, armed with indefinite authority. At their head may be ranked the Star Chamber, so celebrated and so odious in the English history. Its jurisdiction extended to almost every description of crimes, not cognizable in the ordinary progress of law :

^r Hume, vol. v. Appendix, iii. p. 452.

CH A P. the members who composed it, were removable
 I. at pleasure; and their sentences might inflict
 1574. corporal punishment, fines, or imprisonment*.
 The High Commission Court was a scourge, if possible more severe, because it tyrannized over the opinions and the consciences of men. It had been instituted soon after the Queen's accession, on her assumption of the spiritual supremacy, as head of the Anglican church; and exercised the same powers which Henry the Eighth had delegated in 1536, to a Vicegerent, or Vicar-general. If, to the two tribunals already mentioned, we add Courts Martial, which the sovereign might authorize, and before whose jurisdiction all treasonable offences might be brought; we shall need little additional proof of the boundless pretensions and exercises of the prerogative, or of the feeble barriers by which the subject was then defended from its invasion.†

Extensive
preroga-
tive.

Treatment
of Parlia-
ments.

Parliaments, though frequently convoked, could neither be considered as free in their deliberations, nor did they possess the independence, courage, and innate sense of dignity, indispensable to impel, and to sustain them when engaged in a contest with the crown. It was not among the privileged order of the peers, approximated by their rank to the throne, that the flame of liberty could be naturally expected to take birth; and the other house of parliament had

* Hume, vol. v. Appendix iii. p. 453—454.

† Ibid. p. 454, 456.

not as yet made sufficient advances in opulence or knowledge, to feel in its full force the inestimable value of equal laws, impartial justice, and civil liberty. Elizabeth moreover repressed throughout her whole reign, every attempt on their part, to emancipate either themselves or their constituents, with the most vigilant attention; and she did not scruple to order into custody, or to detain in confinement, any member who presumed to pass the limits which she thought proper to affix to the freedom of debate. The reprehension, accompanied with menaces, which she used towards both houses of parliament, at the close of the session in 1566, only because they had ventured, with indiscreet loyalty and zeal for their country, to press on her the alternative of her marriage, or the nomination of her eventual successor, if she persisted in remaining single;—this fact may shew how severely she checked the first symptoms of popular innovation^u. In 1571, the Lord-keeper admonished the parliament, at its meeting, not to meddle with affairs of state; and a member of the lower house being first summoned before the privy council, was by them prohibited from appearing again in his place, for having made a motion relative to the reformation of the liturgy. The Queen did indeed afterwards signify to him her permission that he might return to the house of commons. Another member in the course of the session, was reprimanded

CHAP.
I.
1574.

^u Camden, p. 68—70.

C H A P. manded by the privy council, for daring to censure a ruinous patent granted by the crown.
 I.
 1574. At the prorogation, the Lord-keeper again reminded them of their audacity, insolence, and presumption, in offering to call into doubt the prerogatives inherent in, and exercised by Elizabeth. *

Able management of Elizabeth.

It is indisputable, that in her able hands, the royal prerogatives were preserved and prolonged beyond the term, at which, with less skilful management they must have arrived, from the rapid progress of true science, commerce, wealth, and knowledge, among the people. Her natural disposition to economy, confirmed by the necessity of maintaining her independence on parliament, or of bartering prerogative against supplies; made her not only sparing of the public treasure, but induced her rather to refuse the pecuniary aids offered her by the commons, than to purchase them by the slightest sacrifice of power. It is difficult to commend too highly as a virtue, the frugality of Elizabeth, since it neither partook of an illiberal parsimony, nor degenerated into avarice, the vice of her grandfather Henry the Seventh. The want of economy in her immediate successor, exposed him to all the inroads of democratic violence, and accelerated under Charles the First, the destruction of royalty itself.

Numerous claims of the crown.

Besides the leading features of prerogative already enumerated, many inferior, but very one-

* D'Ewes, p. 141. and p. 175, 176. — and p. 151.

rous rights or claims, existed under this reign. C H A P.

The court of wards constituted a severe and humiliating tribunal, which subjected the heirs of I.

1574.

all landed estates, during their minority, to the guardianship of the crown: great abuses were committed in its administration. The right of purveyance, or of pre-emption, formed a still more extensive grievance in its operation. The prohibition of the nobility from contracting marriage, without previously obtaining the royal consent; similar restraints imposed on their leaving the kingdom; exemptions from prosecution and seizure of their effects; embargoes laid on particular articles of trade; presents exacted to an indefinite amount;—all these acts of interference, which tended to plunder, oppress, or trample on the subject, continued to be exercised without opposition, till a much later period^y. The circle which her power embraced, may perhaps be still more strongly demonstrated by observing that it extended even to manners, dress, and fashion; objects which have ever been found by legislators and sovereigns, harder to regulate than matters of a graver nature. Elizabeth, in 1574, issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to conform to the modes worn in her own court, within fourteen days; and in order to enforce the observance of so singular a command, she sent out her officers to break the swords, or clip the ruffs, which exceeded the dimensions specified in her

^y Hume, vol. v. p. 460—462.

CHAP. prohibition. No act of power can convey a
 I. livelier idea of the submission which she exacted,
 1574. even in matters unconnected with government
 and policy; nor can any interposition more
 strongly prove the subservient state of the
 human mind which acquiesced in such regula-
 tions without a murmur². Peter the First com-
 pelled his Muscovite subjects of both sexes, to
 fashion their external appearance to his man-
 dates; but Louis the Fourteenth found the ex-
 ertion of all his authority, utterly unequal to
 altering the formation of a female head dress.
 The reason is obvious. The Czar commanded
 a semi-barbarous nation. Louis, though an ab-
 solute monarch, was powerless over mode and
 the decorations of taste.

Scanty na-
 ture of the
 revenues.

The revenues of the crown, which bore how-
 ever no proportion to the magnitude of its
 prerogatives, were as limited and scanty, as
 the latter were ample and comprehensive. When
 we consider with how inadequate pecuniary
 resources, Elizabeth during four-and-forty years
 conducted the internal government; fed the
 political dissensions in Scotland; defended or
 subjected Ireland; supported the Dutch; aided
 the Hugonots in France; repelled the attacks of
 Spain, the most formidable monarchy in Europe;
 and even carried her arms or inroads into the re-
 mote colonies and provinces of Philip the Second;
 we are penetrated with admiration, and no longer

² Camden, p. 179. Strype, vol. 2. p. 603. Townsend's Journals,
 p. 250.

wonder at the high applauses bestowed by her contemporaries, on her wisdom and capacity. No effort of economy the most vigilant and unremitted, could however have enabled her to compass objects so vast, many of which demanded large financial supplies, unless she had availed herself of the power of alienating and selling the royal domain^a. Her dread of the encroachments of parliament, induced her to have recourse to an expedient, which though it personally liberated her from present embarrassments, yet by effectually impoverishing the crown, involved the princes of the family of Stuart her successors, in accumulated distress. To this resource must be added the energy and spirit of enterprize, exhibited by her subjects; who, when it was necessary to defend their country, or to undertake foreign maritime expeditions, did not wait for the sanction of law, but anticipated the wants of government, by equipping and arming ships at their private expence. Incredible exertions of the nature to which we allude, were made on different occasions during Elizabeth's reign.

No regular troops, properly so denominated, existed in England at this period, the only body of military forces capable of being called out on a sudden emergency, being the militia. They were computed in 1574, not to fall very short of two hundred thousand in number; but their discipline was by no means such as to permit

CHAP.
I.

1574.

Alienation
of the
royal do-
main.

^a Hume, vol. v. p. 472—476.

CHAP. of a reliance on them for defence; and the
 I. eastern coasts were frequently plundered by
 1574. small bodies of Spaniards, sent over from
 Flanders for that purpose^b. Elizabeth's great-
 est security consisted in the general attachment
 of all ranks of her subjects, produced by her
 attention to their welfare, and the wisdom of
 her measures. Even the Catholics, conscious
 of the lenity and beneficence of her administra-
 tion, gave her the most unequivocal testimonies
 of loyalty in 1569., during the Northern rebel-
 lion undertaken in favour of Mary, Queen of
 Scots.^c

Navy.

The English navy can scarcely be said to
 have had any permanent existence before the
 year 1574; nor was it till after the memorable
 Spanish invasion of 1588, that it began to
 assume a more settled form, and continued an-
 nually to receive augmentations. At the com-
 mencement of this reign, the whole number of
 seamen in Elizabeth's dominions, was not esti-
 mated at more than twelve thousand. Trading
 vessels, on occasions of danger, were converted
 into ships of war; and the Queen gradually
 emancipated herself from the necessity, under
 which her father, Henry the Eighth had found
 himself, of applying to the Hanseatic towns for
 assistance, when obliged to equip a fleet. The
 royal navy might be reckoned at about twenty
 large ships, and three gallies, which generally
 lay in the river Medway, near Gillingham.

^b Hume, vol. v. p. 481 and 482.

^c Camden, p. 115.

castle. They appear however to have been constantly ready for service.^d

CHAP.
I.
1574.
Commerce.

The true principles of commerce were not sufficiently understood, at the period which we are reviewing, to receive from the government an effectual protection. Monopolies, patents, and exclusive grants of various kinds, continually emanating from the crown, oppressed the genius of trade, and checked its progress; but the spirit of naval enterprize which characterised the sixteenth century, made ample amends for every impediment. The recent discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards in the new world, when added to those of the Portuguese beyond the Cape of Good Hope in India, excited the emulation and exertions of England. The most important maritime attempts were undertaken by individuals, who attempted to navigate the frozen ocean, with the hope of finding a passage round the northern pole, in both directions, to America, and to China. However unsuccessful these endeavours proved, new adventurers appeared, and channels of trade hitherto unknown, were explored in every direction. The intercourse with Muscovy, which proved peculiarly beneficial, received the greatest encouragement from the Czar, John Basilowitz. It is scarcely credible that as early as 1570, when navigation and commerce must still be regarded as in their infancy, the English undertook and executed plans so bold and ha-

^d Hume, vol. v. p. 480.

CHAP. I. zardous, as hardly to be exceeded in the present age. Besides the voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Hawkins, and many others, which were partly intended to discover, or to colonize distant parts of the globe; the traders to Russia ascended the river Duna, to the town of Wologda; transported their commodities by land, through the interior provinces of Muscovy, to Jaroslau; and thence descending the Wolga, arrived at the city of Astracan. They afterwards crossed the Caspian Sea, from its northern, to the southern extremity; entered Persia, and notwithstanding the obstacles arising from the unsettled state of the country, as well as from the deserts which they were compelled to pass, penetrated to the marts of Casbin, Taverin, and other places, where they disposed of their goods. The perpetual wars which, under Amurath the Third, were waged by the Turks, upon Persia, bereaved the English nation of so extraordinary and beneficial a commerce; but the very attempt manifests the ardour and spirit which then pervaded the middle ranks of society*. The gold trade, carried on with the negroes of the coast of Guinea and Angola, had existed ever since the end of the reign of Edward the Sixth, notwithstanding the remonstrances made by the court of Lisbon, which government pretended to the sole and exclusive dominion of that part of the globe. Elizabeth adjusted the differences with Portugal, in 1571, by a com-

1574.
Spirit of
enterprise.

* Camden, p. 105. 106.—and p. 36.

mercial

mercial treaty, which still left her subjects at liberty to prosecute their traffic to the western shores of Africa.^f

CHAP.

I.

1574.

In 1563, Cardinal Granvelle, who as first minister, conducted the affairs of the Spanish Netherlands, under Margaret of Parma, Governess of the Low Countries; having induced that Princess to prohibit the importation of English cloths into those provinces, the city of Embden in East Friesland, was chosen for the mart or staple, to which should be sent the woollen manufactures of England. But soon afterwards, the original treaty, denominated "the great intercourse," was revived by the mutual necessities of the two countries^g. It became again completely suspended by the quarrel which took place in 1568, between the courts of London and Madrid, on occasion of the seizure and detention of the Genoese vessels, destined to carry pecuniary remittances to the Duke of Alva. Hamburg was then substituted during some years, as the channel of trade to Germany, instead of Bruges and Antwerp; but early in 1573, Philip the Second, whose Flemish subjects severely felt the privation of the English commerce, consented to renew the ancient treaty between the two crowns^h. The oppressions of that bigotted and tyrannical prince, had already driven great numbers of his most industrious subjects to abandon Flanders, and to take refuge

Trade
with the
Nether-
lands.

^f Camden, p. 147.

^g Rapin, vol. vii. p. 248. and 249.

^h Rapin, vol. vii. p. 322. and 323. Camden, p. 181. and 182.

under

C H A P. under Elizabeth's protection. They settled principally in the eastern and southern counties of the kingdom, where they introduced the art of manufacturing Bays, as well as various species of linen and woollen cloths, previously unknown in Englandⁱ. As early as 1565, parliament appears to have made the article of wool, an object of the most serious attention. An act then passed, prohibiting under penalty of forfeiture and imprisonment for the first offence, and on pain of felony for the second, the exportation of sheep. The annual amount of the woollen trade to Flanders, which was immense, continued to be progressive, during all the reign of Elizabeth; but the whole number of vessels employed by the English in trade, before the year 1574, seems not to have exceeded twelve hundred; and the greater part of these were small, being short of eighty tons burden^k. Commerce itself must have been very precarious and insecure, since the English channel was infested with pirates, particularly of the French nation.

**Manufac-
tures.**

With the exception of the woollen manufacture, most others appear to have been only in their infancy; and articles of elegance or of luxury were fabricated in a much superior manner, both by the Flemings and Italians, from whom they were principally procured. The process of making gunpowder, was only a recent discovery, it being imported before 1561, from foreign countries. That of brimstone took place

ⁱ Hume, vol. v. p. 480.

^k Ibid.

four years later¹. Silk stockings were worn by Elizabeth, very early in her reign: it is to be observed that they were knit, and exclusively of the colour of black^m. Watches, coaches, and many other appendages of dress or splendor, were totally unknown among the English, till a later period than that under our review.

CHAP.

I.

1574.

London, like the other principal cities in the kingdom, was composed of very mean wooden buildings, faced with clay of various colours. Brick and stone edifices scarcely began to be known, even among the highest nobility; and the use of glass for windows was limited to the same classⁿ. We can scarcely conceive in the present age, the aspect of the metropolis, under Elizabeth, which presented only narrow streets, unpaved, destitute of any regulations for cleansing or lighting them, and calculated at once to produce and to retain epidemic distempers, by the accumulation of putrid substances of every kind. Paris then laboured under nearly similar inconveniencies; and it was only beyond the Alps, or the Appenines, that any approach had been made towards refinement in the construction or police of great cities. The foundation of the Exchange, constructed by the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, was laid in 1566, and the edifice was completed in the following year. Elizabeth displayed her protection of trade, by visiting it in 1571, and giving

Population.

¹ Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xv. p. 650.

^m Howell's Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.

ⁿ Harrison, book ii. ch. xii.

C H A P. I. it by proclamation the name of *Royal*, which it still bears^o We may judge however, of the slender intercourse which subsisted between the English and other nations, by the small number of foreigners found in London. On an accurate inquest taken in 1567, there were not discovered so many as five thousand, collected from every country in Europe; the majority of whom were Flemings, who had been either compelled to fly for refuge to Elizabeth, by the persecutions of Philip the Second, or were induced to visit England from commercial motives.^p

Loans.

It was to Gresham, one of the most distinguished characters of his time, who might justly be called a royal merchant, that the crown was indebted for its emancipation from the necessity of recurring to Antwerp for loans, whenever money was wanted on sudden and extraordinary emergencies. That opulent city, which before the insurrection of the Flemings against Spain, formed the greatest mart in the northern seas, could alone supply such funds; and interest was exacted at the rate of ten or twelve per cent. By Gresham's example and exertions, in consequence of the calamities which overwhelmed Antwerp under Philip the Second, London began to make these pecuniary advances to the sovereign; and parliament fixed the rate of legal interest in 1571, at ten per cent.^q

Internal
police.

Scarcely any of those obvious and necessary precautions for the salubrity and cleanliness of

^o Hume vol. v. p. 483.

^p Haynes, p. 461 and 462.

^q Hume, vol. vii. p. 476. and 483.

the capital, or for the safety and protection of C H A P.
I.
1574.
its inhabitants, which we denominate police, were known at this period. London was infested with bodies of riotous, dissolute, and tumultuous vagabonds, against whom it became frequently necessary to proceed with the utmost rigour and promptitude of justice^r. Similar and even greater disorders were common in the provinces, where troops of profligate persons frequently assembled, committed depredations, and set the laws at defiance. More than three hundred individuals were executed every year on an average, for theft and robbery only, in the various parts of the kingdom, during the commencement of Elizabeth's reign; a circumstance very unfavourable to the idea of simplicity or purity of manners existing among the inferior orders of the people.^s

Gypsies constituted another nuisance of an astonishing magnitude, their aggregate numbers throughout England being supposed to exceed ten thousand; and parliament, as early as 1563, rendered it felony to be seen or found for one month in their company^t. The plague committed continual and terrible ravages; nor were any wholesome regulations adopted, to prevent its entrance or progress. The garrison which under Dudley, Earl of Warwick, had defended Havre-de-Grace against the French, having brought it over to England in the summer of

Contagious
distempers.

^r Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 279.

^s Hume, vol. v. p. 456.

^t Rapin, vol. vii. p. 248, note.

CHAP. I. 1563, more than twenty thousand persons were carried off by its attacks, only in the city of London^u. The use of sea-coal as an article of fuel, seems to have been almost totally unknown in the metropolis, before 1574, wood being universally used for culinary, and other purposes. It was not till the reign of James the First, that from the immense and increasing consumption of wood, coals began to be imported and substituted in its place.

Feudal
grandeur.

Notwithstanding the progressive state of opulence and consideration among the commons, strong traces of the feudal grandeur and ancient magnificence of the barons or nobility, existed after Elizabeth's accession^x. The Earl of Leicester, her unworthy favourite, is said to have laid up arms for near ten thousand men, in Kennelworth-castle. If we except Wolsey, who was an ecclesiastic, Robert Dudley may be considered as the most powerful subject that had appeared in England since the Earl of Warwick, Neville, surnamed "the King Maker," who perished at the battle of Barnet, under Edward the Fourth. Ramparts, moats, artillery, and dependants who were ready to appear in arms on the first summons, still distinguished the residence of the nobility. In 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland drew together an army, amounting to four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, at a very short notice, composed almost wholly of their

^u Camden, p. 51, 52.

^x Hume, vol. v. p. 486—487.

Catholic tenants, vassals, and retainers'. Personal servitude did not become extinct till towards the close of this reign.

C H A P.

I.

1574.

Learning.

It must be admitted that the age was not only learned, but that erudition was even more generally possessed or diffused, especially among the highest classes of society, than in the present century. The enthusiasm, approaching to idolatry, with which the great writers of antiquity were received, on the first revival of letters, had not yet totally subsided, before the middle of the sixteenth century. Lady Jane Grey, at seventeen years of age, was an accomplished classic scholar. Not only Elizabeth, but her ministers, favourites, and even the ladies of her court, were familiar with the writings of the Greek philosophers, and the Roman historians^a. The Queen, on many public occasions, proved the facility which she possessed in the dead languages; and learning eminently conduced to procure for its possessors, preferment or public employment^b. But, pedantry infected the schools, the universities, and the palace. The English language itself was far from having fixed its standard, or attained its perfection. History, poetry, natural philosophy, the drama, and all the elegant productions of refined taste or cultivated genius, were either unknown, or in their commencement. Bacon and Shakespeare, formed each in their respective walks of composition, to attain the heights of literary

^a Camden, p. 115.^b Hume, vol. v. p. 490.^c Ascham, p. 242.

fame,

C H A P. fame, had not passed the limits of childhood;
 I. nor had Spenser yet composed a stanza of his
 1574. "Fairy Queen." Even Sir Philip Sydney's
 "Arcadia" was not given to the world, till a
 later period of Elizabeth's reign.

State of
 Ireland.

Ireland, before the year 1574, can only be regarded as a barbarous province, nominally constituting a dependency of the English crown; but in reality productive neither of revenue, nor essential benefit and strength of any kind, to Elizabeth, though above four hundred years had elapsed since its conquest by Henry the Second. The intractable nature of its inhabitants, their fierce character, their ignorance, superstition, and servile reverence for the Romish see; their want of arts, manufactures, trade, and civilization; above all, the unlimited authority exercised by the great barons and nobility, over their vassals;—these causes, aggravated in many instances by tyranny or mal-administration on the part of the English princes, conspired to bereave them of any solid advantage, from their titular supremacy over the island, which was in fact, from the period of Elizabeth's accession down to her death, in a state of perpetual revolt, and of open or concealed commotion. The province of Ulster in particular furnished her the most copious matter of alarm, occupied her attention, exhausted her finances, and frequently emancipated itself from her obedience. The Queen exerted in vain her clemency, and her severity, by turns: no permanent tranquillity

quillity was established in that part of the island. CHAP. I.
 Shan O'Neil, who had been created Earl of Tyrone, by Henry the Eighth, and who denominated himself King of Ulster, was a barbarian of no common species; inaccessible to pity, generosity, or forgiveness. He was sur-
 named Bacco, or the *Lame^b*. The description left us by Camden, of his appearance and attendants, in the year 1562, when he came over to London, to implore pardon for his multiplied crimes and offences, appears equally extraordinary and picturesque. "He was accompanied," says that historian, "by a guard of Gal-
 lowglasses, bearing axes, and bareheaded; their curled hair hanging loosely down dishevelled. They wore yellow surplices, dyed with saffron or urine; long sleeves, short coats, and hairy mantles. The English gazed at them with the same admiration, which they would now express at the sight of a Chinese, or an American^c." O'Neal behaved with a sort of haughty and arrogant submission towards Elizabeth, resembling the account given us by Voltaire, of Cavalier's conduct, who had commanded the insurgents in the province of the Gevaudan, when he repaired in 1709 to the court of Louis the Fourteenth. The Queen nevertheless pardoned, restored, and sent Tyrone back with honour, to his native country.

Barbarism
 of the great
 chiefs.

In return for so much lenity, he again took up arms in 1567, against England. We may judge of the extent of his command, and the

Insurrec-
 tion of Ty-
 rone.

^b Camden, p. 25 — 36.

^c Ibid. p. 48.

CHAP. I.
1574. formidable power of such a rebel, by the troops or followers whom he levied, and retained under his standard. Besides his body-guards, amounting to seven hundred men, he maintained four thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry^d. A force very inferior in point of numbers, had deposed and imprisoned Mary, Queen of Scots, in that very year. Such was his unconquerable detestation of the English name and nation, that he offered the kingdom of Ireland to Mary; an offer which the proximity of Ulster to the coasts of Galloway, might have greatly enabled him to effectuate; and of which, James the Fourth or Fifth, if either of those princes had then reigned in Scotland, would probably have endeavoured to avail themselves. Tyrone even strangled several of his own vassals, for no other alleged fault than feeding on English bread^e. His end was such as his enormities justly merited. Driven from his morasses and forests, by Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, he threw himself upon the mercy of some Scottish insurgents whom he had previously injured, who cut him to pieces in their own camp.

His character.

It is difficult to find a parallel in modern history, to this savage chief, who reminds us of the fabulous robbers and banditti of ancient Greece. He not only seized and deprived his own father, of his rightful patrimony, and put to death his natural brother, but committed every other enormity or excess. Like the *Knipperdollings* of the same

^d Camden, p. 87.

^e Ibid.

century, and other leaders of the Anabaptists in the German empire, O'Neal retained numerous concubines for his pleasures. "A man," says Camden, "most polluted with murders and adulteries; and so immoderately addicted to drunkenness, that in order to cool his body when inflamed with wine and Usquebaugh, he was accustomed to bury himself in the earth, or to wallow in mud up to the chin^f." When such were the manners of one of their greatest chiefs, we may conclude that the inferior classes of Irish, must have been equally uncivilized and ferocious.

Munster became in its turn the scene of rebellion in 1569; and the facility with which Philip the Second could introduce supplies of men and arms into that province, which by its position, open to the Atlantic Ocean, lay not very remote from the coasts of Galicia and Biscay, rendered every insurrection there, peculiarly alarming to Elizabeth. The Earls of Ormond and Desmond possessed in Munster, an authority similar to O'Neal's influence over the northern parts of the island; but they appear to have been more humane and tractable in their demeanor^g. The south western provinces of Ireland constituted nevertheless, the most exposed and vulnerable part of the Queen's dominions, as she fully experienced towards the close of her reign.

Frequency
of rebel-
lions.
Munster.

In 1570, Connaught, where the O'Briens, Earls of Thomond, were the most powerful

Con-
naught.

^f Camden, p. 89.

^g Ibid. p. 117, 118.

CHAP. Barons, revolted; but it was speedily reduced
 I. to obedience. Even Leinster, though the most
 1574. civilized portion of the kingdom, could not be
 retained in subjection by the presence of the
 Lord Deputy^a. These perpetual insurrections
 seem to prove, at least as much oppression and
 mal-administration on the part of the English
 Government, as they evince the refractory, or
 untameable character of the Irish. The greatest
 effort made during this period of Elizabeth's
 reign, for the complete reduction of Ulster to
 her obedience, was undertaken in 1573, by
 Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, father of the
 unfortunate favourite who perished on the scaffold.
 He was accompanied by a numerous
 band of noblemen and gentlemen, on the expedition;
 to defray the expences of which enterprise, he
 borrowed of the Queen ten thousand pounds, on
 a mortgage of his estate. She, in recompence,
 made him a liberal grant of the lands to be
 conquered; he engaging to maintain, at his own
 charge, for their preservation, two hundred horse,
 and four hundred infantry. The attempt proved
 equally unfortunate and ruinous to all the
 adventurers; but to none more than to the
 commander, Essex, who injured his fortune,
 narrowly escaped with his life, and vainly
 implored Elizabeth's assistance. She appears
 to have paid little attention to his entreaties,
 or his demands.ⁱ

^a Camden, p. 130—164.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 173—177.

Some endeavours to colonize and civilize the island, were made in 1572, by Sir Thomas Smith. He was secretary of state; and his natural son conducted to the eastern coast of Ulster, a thriving colony. Every foot soldier received in fee from the crown, one hundred and twenty acres of land; and every horseman, two hundred and forty. These grants were very considerable, the Irish acre being nearly or quite double that of England. Only one penny, annual quittance or rent, was exacted from the soldiers. But, the expedition turned out as unproductive, as Lord Essex's attempt proved in the following year^k. Money, either gold or silver, seems to have been scarcely known among the native Irish; the possessions of the chiefs, like those of mankind in the patriarchal and primitive ages of the earth, consisting principally in cattle. Brian MacPhelim, who had usurped the territory of Clandeboy in 1573, possessed near thirty thousand cows, besides sheep and hogs^l. Corn and grain were little cultivated in the interior provinces of the island. Wolves infested the country; and in 1575, a pestilence swept off vast numbers of the inhabitants^m. We may reasonably doubt whether Iceland was in a state of greater barbarism at this period of time; and we may securely assert that Norway was more advanced in civilization. It was not without reason,

^k Camden, p. 164, 165.

^m Ibid. p. 165—186.

^l Ibid. p. 175.

CHAP. when we reflect on the geographical position
 I. and perpetual troubles of Ireland, that we find
 1574. Elizabeth regarding it as the most insecure
 quarter of her possessions; and as peculiarly
 open to invasion from the power of Spain,
 which, even as early as 1569, made some insi-
 dious attempts to excite a rebellion in the pro-
 vince of Munster.ⁿ

ⁿ Camden, p. 112.

CHAP. II.

SCOTLAND.

Review of the Scottish History, from the death of James the Fifth, to the year 1574. — State of Scotland at that period. — Limited nature of the royal power. — Effect of the Reformation. — Revenues. — Military force. — Manners of the nation.

THE kingdom of Scotland, long plunged in domestic dissensions, and scarcely emerged from barbarism under the first princes of the house of Stuart, cannot with propriety be said to have assumed any place in the European system, till towards the commencement of the sixteenth century. Yet during the great struggle for the French crown, between the two families of Valois and of Plantagenet, which may be said to have lasted, though with intervals of repose, during near one hundred and twenty years, from Edward the Third, down to the complete expulsion of the English under Henry the Sixth, the Scottish princes invariably took part in the contest, as allies of France. To their valor was due the first check experienced by Henry the Fifth in his career of success, when the Earl of Buchan defeated and killed the brother of that monarch, Thomas, Duke

CHAP.
II.State of
Scotland,
before the
death of
James the
Fifth.1488—
1542.

CHAP. Duke of Clarence, in 1422, at the battle of
 II. Baugé in Anjou. Under Charles the Seventh,
 1488— the Scots rendered distinguished services in the
 1542. field, to the French sovereign and nation. Nor
 were the Kings of France either insensible to,
 or regardless of the vast advantages to be de-
 rived from their alliance. Louis the Eleventh,
 while yet Dauphin and heir to the throne, was
 married to Margaret Stuart, daughter of James
 the First; a princess as much superior to the
 unfortunate Mary Stuart, in virtue and mental
 endowments, as she fell below the daughter of
 James the Fifth, in personal beauty and attrac-
 tions. That matrimonial union having proved
 unproductive of issue, Francis the First be-
 stowed on James the Fifth, his eldest daughter,
 Magdalen, in 1535; and on her decease with-
 out children, two years afterwards James ac-
 cepted from his hand, an adopted French Prin-
 cess, Mary of Guise, then widow of the Duke
 of Longueville. Scotland might therefore be
 considered as connected by the strongest ties
 with the house of Valois. James the Fourth
 not only manifested those sentiments, though
 he had married the eldest daughter of Henry
 the Seventh, but he fell a victim to his attach-
 ment for the French nation; having perished
 in the vigour of his age, with his bravest fol-
 lowers in 1513, at the battle of Flodden Field,
 gained over him by the arms of Henry the
 Eighth. James the Fifth in like manner ter-
 minated his life, at little more than thirty years
 of age, by a premature end, caused from the
 conflict

conflict of indignation and shame in his mind, at being forsaken by his nobility, when he was on the point of invading England. His infant daughter, Mary, succeeded to his crown, and to the hereditary misfortunes of her family; as James himself had ascended the Scottish throne, when scarcely eighteen months old, after his father's fall at Flodden Field.

During the period of near nineteen years, which elapsed between the birth of Mary, and her return to Scotland, after the death of her husband, Francis the Second; that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to various governors, was plundered and ravaged by the contending factions: while the young Queen, educated in a foreign court, and altogether unacquainted with her own country or subjects, considered France as her asylum from anarchy and barbarism. In fact, we may almost question whether Mary would ever have visited Scotland, if Francis had lived, or if she had given birth to a son by that Prince; since it was not without the utmost repugnance, after long delays, that Catherine of Medicis, and her uncles the Guises, in some measure compelled her to leave France. She had before her eyes, the melancholy fate of her father's first wife, the Princess Magdalen of France, who did not survive her arrival in Scotland more than two months. A consumption, accelerated in its progress by the severity of the climate, carried her off in the bloom of youth; but Brantome expressly assures us that Ronsard, the celebrated poet, who accompanied James the Fifth's

CHAP.

II.

1488—

1542.

1542—

1561.

C H A P. Fifth's Queen into Scotland, informed him, that
 II. she expired of distress and repentance at having
 1542— quitted her own country, for a barbarous king-
 1557. dom; constantly exclaiming with her last
 breath, " Alas! I would be a Queen!"

Regency of
 Mary of
 Guise.

The Earl of Arran, afterwards better known in history under the title of Duke of Chatelherault, conferred on him by Henry the Second, King of France; a man of irresolute temper, and of very limited talents, being chosen Regent, exercised the office during eleven years. The intrigues and influence of the French court, compelled him at the end of that time, reluctantly to cede the dignity to Mary of Guise, widow of James the Fifth, and mother to the young Queen. Perhaps no princess would have been better calculated to promote the prosperity, and to have restored the tranquillity of Scotland, by her superior endowments of mind, and the virtues of her character; if she had not been propelled, from her culpable deference to the counsels of her brothers, the Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Lorraine, upon violent measures, both religious and civil. It became indispensable to sustain these acts, by the odious and unpopular introduction of French troops: but, far from attaining the end proposed, she gradually alienated the affections of the nobility and people. Her government, feeble, precarious, and stained by repeated violations of faith, sunk into contempt. Insurrections against her authority, in which religious zeal added fury to the other causes of complaint, became frequent; and though repeatedly dissipated by
 the

the address or vigour of the Regent, they perpetually revived with augmented force.^a

C H A P.
II.

1552.

If Mary, Queen of England, had continued to reign some years longer; or if Henry the Second, King of France, had not fallen prematurely by a violent and unexpected accident; the power of the Queen Regent might nevertheless have been sustained and perpetuated. But, under these critical circumstances, Elizabeth succeeded to her sister, and shortly afterwards Henry was killed in a Tournament, by the Count of Montgomery. Few events could have proved more injurious to the authority, or more unpropitious to the projects of the Scottish Queen Dowager. France, which from that unfortunate period began to be involved in religious dissensions that terminated in civil war, was rendered in a great measure incapable of interfering with energy in the concerns of Scotland. On the other hand, the new Queen of England, unlike her bigotted predecessor Mary, who in her rage against heresy, sacrificed the foreign interests of the monarchy; Elizabeth not only possessed talents the most indisputable for government; but every motive or principle, personal and political, combined to induce her to extend protection to the Scottish insurgents. It had become indispensable to lose no time in granting this assistance, the French having already entered the port, and fortified the town of Leith; and though the nobles who had taken up arms

Troubles of
Scotland.

^a Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 95—168. passim. Brantome. Dames illustres, p. 310 and 311.

against

C H A P. against the Regent, proceeded formally to de-

II.

1558.

1560.
July.

December.

Reign of
Mary.

pose, and to declare her deprived of all rightful power, yet they were by no means in a condition to enforce their sentence of deposition. They applied therefore to Elizabeth, who did not hesitate instantly to send a body of forces to their aid, preceded by a powerful squadron. Leith was besieged; and after a long and vigorous defence, during the progress of which the Queen Dowager expired, the place surrendered by capitulation, to the united army of England and Scotland. A treaty followed, by the terms of which, the French troops were compelled immediately to evacuate the latter kingdom; and Elizabeth, at the commencement of her reign, in consequence of so vigorous and successful an interposition, acquired an interest and an ascendancy which she never afterwards lost, in the Scottish affairs and counsels.^b

The decease of Francis the Second, which took place a few months subsequent to these events, enabled, and in some measure compelled Mary, the young Queen of France and Scotland, to revisit her hereditary dominions. Her reign, which lasted scarcely seven years, from her arrival at Edinburgh, down to the time of her flight into England, and her consequent imprisonment, is so intimately connected with the history of Elizabeth, as to form an integral and inseparable part of it: nor, after the review which has been taken of the latter, does it seem necessary

^b Robertson, vol. i. p. 168—236.

to enter here upon any discussion of the history of Scotland during that period. The mal-administration of Mary, succeeded by the Catastrophe of the King her husband's violent death, and her own marriage with the Earl of Bothwell, excited universal abhorrence, as well as indignation. Her captivity and deposition became the natural and inevitable consequences of these crimes; and she only effected her escape from confinement, to incur a still greater misfortune, that of falling into the hands of Elizabeth, her inveterate enemy and rival.

The similarity between the character, actions, and tragical death of Jane the First, Queen of Naples, who reigned in the fourteenth century, and those of Mary Queen of Scots, is so striking, as almost to excite incredulity, if the facts were not incontestable. Both princesses reigned in their own right, and assumed the government of their respective kingdoms, at nineteen years of age. Jane married her cousin, Andrew, Prince of Hungary, as Mary espoused her relation, Henry, Lord Darnley. The two Princes who were characterized by the same want of every amiable or estimable quality, became equally odious to their wives. Andrew was strangled at nineteen years of age, as Henry was blown up with gunpowder, nearly at the same period of life. Both Queens were universally accused of being privy to, or implicated in the murder of their husbands; and both almost immediately married the person suspected of perpetrating the crime. Jane gave her hand to Louis, Prince of Tarento,

C H A P.
II.
1561—
1568.

CHAP. one of her own subjects, just as Mary did her's
 II. to the Earl of Bothwell. As Mary was driven out
 1561— of her dominions, and forced to take refuge in
 1568. England, so was Jane compelled to fly into Pro-
 vence. Lastly, as if no circumstance should
 be wanting to complete the resemblance, the
 Queen of Naples was smothered in 1381, between
 two mattresses, by order of Charles de Durazzo,
 her cousin; as the Queen of Scots perished in
 1587, by the axe, in virtue of an order from
 one of her nearest relations, Elizabeth. The
 beauty, attractions, and graces of Jane, are as
 much celebrated by the Neapolitan historians, as
 Mary's personal charms constituted the theme
 of the Scottish writers. History presents no
 instance of so extraordinary and close an ana-
 logy, as existed between these two unfortunate
 sovereigns. We may however remark that Mary
 Stuart resembled her grandmother Margaret
 Tudor, wife of James the Fourth, in many points
 of character. Both were handsome, spirited, and
 gallant. Both married successively three hus-
 bands; Margaret, after the death of James, hav-
 ing espoused first the Earl of Angus, and lastly
 Lord Methven. Margaret, like her grand-
 daughter, governed Scotland for some time as
 Regent, subsequent to the defeat of Flodden
 Field. But the Scots, incensed at her hasty
 nuptials with Angus, deprived her in 1514, of
 all share in the government. More fortunate
 than Mary, she expired of a natural death in
 1541, the year preceding the birth of the latter
 Princess.

As it had become indispensable, after the imprisonment of Mary in Lochleven Castle, to elect a Regent who might represent the person of the sovereign, till such time as the young King, then in infancy, should attain to years of discretion, the Earl of Murray was chosen to fill the office. He was a natural son of James the Fifth, in the vigour of life, and endowed with qualifications which would have rendered him worthy of such an elevation; if the precarious tenure by which he held his dignity, and the number of adherents who still waited only for a favourable occasion of restoring the Queen, had not compelled him to recur to the support of Elizabeth; and on many occasions, to sacrifice the honour and independence of the crown of Scotland itself, to his personal ambition. He condescended with this view, to become the instrument of Elizabeth's enmity against Mary, at the conferences of York and of Hampton Court, which were successively held, with the pretended intention of restoring the captive Queen of Scots, to some portion of political power. During his life, the predominance of England in the counsels of the latter country, was strongly marked; but the regency of Murray proved of short duration: he was assassinated at Linlithgow, by a private gentleman whom he had injured, and the kingdom relapsed anew into internal dissension.*

C H A P.

II.

1561—

1568.

Regency
of the Earl
of Murray.

1568—

1570.

* Robertson, vol. i. p. 441—444.

C H A P.

II.

1571.

Lenox.

The Earl of Lenox, father to Henry Darnley, late titular King of Scotland, and in that capacity grandfather to James the Sixth, succeeded after an interval of a few months, to the office of Regent. Connected by every tie of obligation and of policy, with the Queen of England, who had favoured his election; irritated against Mary, as having participated in the death of his son; and destitute of talents or of forces, to emancipate himself and his country from their dependence on Elizabeth; her influence became augmented, rather than diminished, during the administration of Lenox. But another act of sanguinary violence, similar to that which had terminated the Earl of Murray's life, cut short the Regency of his successor, in little more than a year after its commencement.

1572.

Mar.

The Earl of Mar, chosen to supply his place, held it nearly an equal time. His high and generous spirit, which was sustained by unimpeached integrity, impelled him deeply to lament the calamities of his country, and he vainly exerted himself to extinguish the inveterate factions by which it was divided. Less docile and submissive than his predecessor, he attempted to rescue Scotland from the state of servile insignificance into which it had fallen, in consequence of Elizabeth's interference. But, unequal to the execution of so patriotic a plan, and impeded by his own party in every effort for its attainment, his mind sunk under the

the disappointment, and he fell a victim to the diseases occasioned by his extreme sensibility.^d

After so rapid a succession of Regents, which has no parallel in modern history, the Earl of Morton was raised to that office without a competitor; and under his administration, the kingdom of Scotland may justly be said to have fallen into the lowest degree of political humiliation. Elizabeth sustaining him with all her power, and uniting her forces to those of Morton, formed the siege of the castle of Edinburgh; the last place of strength which had continued to hold out for Mary. The fortress surrendered after a long and gallant defence; but the Regent tarnished his acquisition, by the cruel abuse which he made of it, and by his severity towards the vanquished rebels.^e

In 1574, Scotland, which during the course of successive centuries, had continually approved herself the rival and the enemy of England, no longer appeared capable of molesting that country's repose. Exhausted by feuds and internal commotions, destitute of pecuniary or of commercial resources, and governed under a Regent constituted by Elizabeth, whom her bounty maintained; few traces of the proud and martial spirit, which characterised the times of her ancient kings, the Bruces and the Stuarts, are henceforward to be discovered. Scotland, notwithstanding some short intervals of alienation or of resentment, gradually sunk

C H A P.
II.

1572.
November.
Morton.

1574.
State of
Scotland.

^d Robertson, vol. ii. p. 1—37.

^e Ibid. p. 38—51.

C H A P. II. into a state of subserviency, nearly resembling
 1574. the condition of an English province; and
 seemed to anticipate the final incorporation of
 the two kingdoms, which took place at the ac-
 cession of James, early in the ensuing century.

Royal
 power.

The power of the Scottish princes, during
 the course of the sixteenth century, did not by
 any means advance with the rapidity, which
 marked the progress of the monarchical autho-
 rity in most of the other European states. While
 Louis the Eleventh had fully established despo-
 tism in France; and while in England, the sub-
 tle policy of Henry the Seventh, followed by
 the capricious tyranny of Henry the Eighth,
 had sapped, or had overturned the privileges of
 the nobility; in Scotland on the contrary, the
 antient foundations of the Aristocracy seemed
 to bid defiance to every attack. The sovereign
 could scarcely be considered in any other light,
 than as the head and chief of his Barons, from
 whom he was faintly distinguished by external
 pre-eminence and dignity^f. Many causes had
 contributed to prolong, and to fortify the
 feudal system among the Scots. The small
 number, added to the vast landed possessions
 of the nobles; the mountainous, as well as ste-
 rile nature of the country, difficult to penetrate
 and to subject; the intimate connection which
 subsisted between the lord and his vassals; a
 connection strengthened by consanguinity, in-
 terest, and affection;—these principles upheld

Its limited
 nature.

^f Robertson, vol. i. p. 25—22.

the fabrick. But more than all, the long suc- CHAP.
cessive minorities of James the Fifth, of Mary, II.
and of her son, James the sixth; each of 1574.
whom succeeded to the crown in infancy;
had relaxed the vigour of government, pro-
duced an oblivion or a contempt of the royal
functions, and had introduced every species
of disorder into the different departments of
state^s. After the return of Mary from France
in 1561, the crown might still by manage-
ment, time, and address, have gradually re-
covered, if not extended its prerogatives; but
her misconduct, followed by her crimes, her
deposition, and her flight to England, discon-
certed every effort of this nature. An infant
prince, under the tuition of a Regent, pos-
sessed the nominal supremacy over a fierce
and uncivilized nation. Of four noblemen suc-
cessively elected to fill the office, during the
short space of five years, two had perished by
assassination. The Earl of Morton himself ex-
ercised only a precarious and ill-established
power, sustained by the English influence or
treasures, under a minor king.

As if the combined operation of such multi- Genius of
plied causes or circumstances, were not suffi- the Reforma-
cient of themselves to humble, and almost to tion.
extinguish the royal authority; another event,
in some measure peculiar to Scotland, and
capable even alone, of shaking the very basis
of monarchical power, had recently taken place.
The Scottish Reformation, completed in 1560,

^s Robertson, p. 32—39.

C H A P. had been conducted upon principles widely
 II. different from those motives which actuated the
 1574. English princes, who subverted the Catholic
 faith and establishments. Edward the Sixth
 and Elizabeth, while they corrected the abuses,
 retained nevertheless many of the ceremonies
 and forms of the Romish church; and far from
 destroying the ecclesiastical polity or dignities,
 they admitted neither change nor innovation to
 take place in that essential article. But, the
 ardent and republican spirit of the Scottish re-
 formers, was not to be repressed by the sanc-
 tity of usages, however venerable, useful, or
 judicious. After having rendered their doc-
 trines triumphant, and having seized on the
 lands of the clergy, they could not rest satis-
 fied without destroying the Hierarchy itself.
 The democratic constitution of church govern-
 ment, introduced by Calvin at Geneva, was
 imitated in Scotland; and by the substitution
 of Deacons or Presbyters, in the place of
 Bishops, the crown itself became in a great
 measure deprived of one of its most essential
 supports for withstanding popular violence.^a

Lords of
 Articles.

Notwithstanding these bulwarks against mo-
 narchical power, framed by the people, the
 Kings of Scotland seem however to have en-
 joyed a right or a prerogative, which in times
 of subordination and repose, might have enabled
 them to surmount every constitutional barrier,

^a Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. vii. p. 229. Hume's Hist. of
 England, vol. v. p. 20—30. and p. 37—39. Robertson, vol. i. p. 236
 —242.

and

and to trample on all the restraints of law. The CHAP.
 “Lords of Articles,” a committee elected from II.
 the various orders or estates of which the par- 1574.
 liament was composed; and which body pos-
 sessed the sole privilege of admitting, or of
 precluding, the discussion of all bills; these
 Lords, by a singular contradiction, were placed
 under the immediate nomination of the sove-
 reignⁱ. But even so formidable an engine of
 political influence, could not enable the govern-
 ment to enforce, or to execute the laws, among
 a haughty and turbulent people, accustomed to
 regard the orders of their respective chiefs, as
 constituting the only legitimate authority; and,
 with the exception of the Polish kings, those
 of Scotland may perhaps justly be regarded in
 1574, as the most limited or powerless, of any
 princes in Europe.

The paucity of their revenues, which bore a Revenues.
 proportion to the severe limitations on their
 prerogative, incapacitated them for enterprizes
 of expence or of duration. The royal de-
 mesnes, or crown lands, were long considered
 by the nation, as the only legitimate source from
 whence all supplies could constitutionally be
 drawn; any impositions levied upon the people,
 being merely occasional, and granted for tem-
 porary purposes. Commerce was too limited,
 to admit of deriving any effectual assistance,
 from duties levied on articles of merchandize;
 and previous to the death of James the Fifth,

ⁱ Robertson, vol. i. p. 77—79.

C H A P. taxes, properly so denominated, and regularly
 II. exacted from the subject, were unknown among
 1574. the Scots^k. Even in 1555, when Mary of Guise,
 then queen regent, ventured to propose in
 Parliament, a contribution upon property
 throughout the kingdom, though of the smallest
 description, the proposal was rejected with in-
 dignation^l. Ten years later, Mary, Queen of
 Scots, attempted as unsuccessfully, by virtue of
 the royal prerogative, to levy pecuniary sup-
 plies. Fines and loans were demanded, with a
 view of enabling her to maintain a body of
 forces against the rebels, who had openly in-
 sulted and attacked the throne; but she soon
 discovered the impracticability of enforcing
 her commands, and was necessitated to adopt
 other measures for raising money^m. No act
 contributed more towards rendering the Earl
 of Morton's Regency odious, than his grant-
 ing licences or monopolies, for carrying on
 particular branches of trade; while he laid im-
 positions on commodities, in order to supply
 the wants of the exchequer. These expe-
 dients, equally repugnant to the genius of the
 Scottish constitution, as they were contrary to
 the usages of the nation, excited universal re-
 sentment.ⁿ

Military
 forces.

It may naturally be supposed that in such a
 state of society, kings destitute of authority
 and of revenues, could not maintain any body

^k Robertson, p. 17, 18.

^l Ibid. p. 152.

^m Ibid. p. 342.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 52.

of regular forces. James the Fourth, and his son James the Fifth, combated in fact only at the head of their nobility, who were attended to the field by their respective vassals. But, how feeble was the royal influence or command over such an army, may be judged from the memorable action that took place at Solway, in 1542; where the great Barons, disgusted with their sovereign, preferred rather falling into the hands of their enemies the English, together with the sacrifice of their personal liberty, than submission to the general whom James the Fifth had thought proper to appoint their commander^o. Four years later, in 1546, the conspirators, amounting only to an hundred and fifty, who assassinated Cardinal Beatoun, maintained themselves in the castle of St. Andrew's, and held it out against the whole power of the Earl of Arran, then Regent, for the space of five months^p. Mary of Guise, during her Regency, was constantly sustained by French troops, who appear on some occasions to have been carried to the number of six thousand, and scarcely ever to have fallen below three thousand soldiers. They were paid and maintained by Henry the Second, or by his successor, Francis; and eminently contributed to support the precarious dignity, as well as to enforce the illegal or oppressive measures, of the Queen Regent^q. But, by the treaty of Edinburgh concluded in 1560, these forces

^o Robertson, vol. i. p. 73, 74.

^p Ibid. p. 114.

^q Ibid. p. 180.

C H A P.

II.

1574.

Paucity of
their num-
bers.

were compelled to evacuate the kingdom; and Mary her daughter, when she returned to her dominions, in 1561, possessed no foreign army on which she could rely for support. We find that she was unable to retain more than six hundred cavalry, and about half the number of infantry, besides her ordinary guards. Even this small force exhausted her scanty treasury, as they received regular pay, and might be considered in the light of disciplined soldiers¹.

All the battles of Mary's reign were fought by the retainers of the Barons, who followed their superiors to the field, with equal alacrity and prompt obedience, indifferently either to attack, or to defend the crown. The nobles who drove the Earl of Bothwell to seek his safety by flight, and who afterwards deposed the Queen herself in 1567, never brought together above three thousand followers, in order to effect so complete a revolution². At the battle of Langside, fought in the subsequent year, which decided the fate of the Scottish Princess, the two armies were entirely composed of the adherents of the Hamiltons and other great lords, who had hastily joined Mary, after her escape from Lochleven castle, on one side; and on the other part, of the vassals of the Earl of Murray and his friends. No regular troops fought with either party³. We may reasonably conclude that under the Regencies which followed, the

¹ Robertson, vol. i. p. 341.

² Ibid. p. 442.

³ Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 127, 128. Robertson, vol. i. p. 453—457.

crown could not have been in a state to augment the military force, or to maintain any body of soldiers, however limited in number. We find in fact, that when the Earl of Morton prepared to invest and to besiege the castle of Edinburgh in 1573, he possessed neither ammunition, men, nor money for undertaking such an enterprize. Elizabeth, his ally and protectress, found herself under a necessity of sending to his assistance fifteen hundred English, together with a train of artillery, which enabled him to become master of the fortress. ^{CHAP. II.} 1574.

No traces of a Navy, properly so denominated, are to be found during this period, nor does it seem as if the Scottish kings possessed any regular maritime force; though James the Fourth, at an early period of the sixteenth century, had expended an incredible sum in constructing a man of war, named "the Great Michael." Her unwieldy bulk, the number of mariners as well as soldiers that she required for navigating and fighting her, when added to the depth of water that she drew; these circumstances appear to have rendered her useless to the country and to the crown. Commerce on the other hand could not extend itself, nor could arts and manufactures attain beyond the rudest efforts, among a people, poor, destitute of strong incitements to industry, inhabiting a mountainous or a sterile country, and held in the severest vassalage by their superiors. Mary, educated in the French

Navy.

Arts.

C H A P. court, from the early age of seven years, and
 II. accustomed to its magnificence, endeavoured,
 1574. not without success, to introduce some portion
 of that splendour and refinement among her
 own subjects; though even these attempts were
 impeded or censured by the Scottish reformers,
 the severe and melancholy genius of whose reli-
 gion, seemed to be inimical to every species of
 innocent gaiety, or of gallant diversion.*

Manners.

After Mary's imprisonment, scarcely any
 vestiges of a royal court are to be discovered
 during the four successive Regencies, till the
 period of James the Sixth's majority. Edinburgh
 was regarded as the capital of the kingdom, but
 could not be deemed the ordinary residence of
 the young king, who was principally brought up
 and resided at Stirling. The manners of the
 nation continued to be fierce, rude, and on
 many occasions barbarous. They were strongly
 tinged with the morose and gloomy spirit of the
 Reformation, as introduced into Scotland;
 which had in a great measure destroyed or im-
 poverished the hierarchy, and nearly established
 a democratic form of ecclesiastical government
 and worship. Scarcely any thing in fact, except
 the name of the Episcopal function, remained
 in 1572; and so completely were the revenues
 of the church sequestered by the crown, or
 seized on and appropriated by the nobility, that
 the whole aggregate sum, then annually appro-
 priated to the support of the Scottish clergy

Ecclesiasti-
 cal reve-
 nues.

* Hume's History of England, vol. v. p. 51—53.

through-

throughout the kingdom, did not exceed nine thousand Pounds sterling^y. Civil war, heightened by personal injuries and animosity, which inflamed the two factions, impelled them to the most sanguinary acts. The parties of Mary and of James, in the names of their respective sovereigns, equally desolating the country, carried their ravages over every part of Scotland. It is difficult to believe that even so late as 1572, during the siege of the castle of Edinburgh, the leaders on both sides had so totally obliterated or extinguished all the sentiments of natural humanity, as to renew the massacres committed near four centuries earlier, by Richard the First, and by Saladin, in Palestine. The prisoners of war were inhumanly led out to execution, without distinction of rank or of quality, to the number of fifty at a time; and a practice which would disgrace the most savage people of the globe, long continued to be exercised in Scotland.^z

Uncivilized as the age must be regarded in other respects, it was not destitute of an acquaintance with letters; and the Latin compositions of Buchanan, more especially those which are poetical, would alone be sufficient to rescue the Scottish nation from the imputation of ignorance. Buchanan, who was born under the reign of James the Fourth, early in the sixteenth century, seems to have experienced

^y Robertson, vol. i. p. 392. and vol. ii. p. 38—41.

^z Ibid. vol. ii. p. 30, 31.

CHAP. the ordinary, though not the inevitable fate
 II. of men of genius. The far greater part of his
 1574. long life was passed in a species of exile from
 his native country, pursued by malevolence,
 party violence, or religious persecution. By
 turns we find him, when driven from Scotland,
 struggling for subsistence, on the banks of the
 Thames, the Seine, and the Garonne. Even
 Portugal furnished him first an asylum, and
 subsequently a prison. After having been
 charged in his youth by James the Fifth, with
 the tuition of his natural son, who became the
 Regent Earl of Murray; Buchanan in his ad-
 vanced years beheld the infant King James the
 Sixth confided to his care. Retiring from that
 honourable employment, he expired in old age,
 at Edinburgh, in 1582, universally recognized
 as the most elegant writer to whom Scotland
 had then given birth. Nor have posterity ques-
 tioned the validity of his pretensions to fame.
 His claims are various, as a poet, a dramatic
 writer, and an historian. Even his muse was
 divided between sacred and profane verse, while
 sometimes he paraphrases David, and sometimes
 with more felicity imitates Horace. Yet, his
 "Psalms," which he translated while in a Por-
 tuguese prison, appear to have given him more
 contemporary celebrity, than did his "Odes or
 Satyres." His tragedies, whether borrowed from
 Euripides, or formed on subjects taken from Holy
 Writ, are classical compositions, though not
 abounding with original thoughts, nor distin-
 guished by striking beauties. Like De Thou,
 Guic-

Guicciardini, and Mariana, his contemporaries, C H A P.
II.
1574.
 Buchanan undertook to compose the history of his own country; a work which he executed, and has brought down to his own time. It is written, like all his other productions, in Latin. Though perhaps justly accused of displaying partiality to the order of things which overturned Mary, Queen of Scots, as well as of outraging the memory of that infatuated Princess; and though the Scottish historian is certainly inferior to his Roman model, yet it must always hold a distinguished place in elegant literature. The versatility of Buchanan's genius, in emulating by turns, the fame of Horace and of Livy, forms not the least remarkable circumstance respecting him, and has few parallels either in antiquity, or in modern ages.*

* Dict. Hist. vol. ii. Art. Buchanan.

CHAP. III.

S P A I N.

General review of the reign of Philip the Second, from the death of Charles the Fifth.—Insurrection, and progress of the Revolution, in the Low Countries.—State of the Spanish monarchy, in 1574.—Immense power and revenues of Philip.—Defects of his administration.—Public debt.—Trade.—State of the Arts.—Religious persecution.—Decline of Spain.

CHAP.
III.

Rise of the
Spanish
monarchy.
1469—
1516.

THE foundation of the Spanish monarchy, which became in a few years so formidable to the repose and liberty of Europe, was laid by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. The junction of the crowns of Castile and Arragon, on the heads of those powerful princes, confirmed by the conquest of Grenada, and the expulsion of the Moors, who had reigned for several centuries, over the most fertile provinces of Spain; all these acquisitions were cemented by the genius of Columbus. His discoveries opened a new world to the avidity and ambition of the first conquerors of America; while Gonsalvo de Cordova in another quarter, at the extremity of Italy, acquired the kingdom of Naples for Ferdinand. These vast dominions devolving by the decease of successive princes, to the Emperor Charles the

the Fifth, in right of his mother Joanna, sole surviving issue of Ferdinand and Isabella; he added to them his hereditary provinces in the Netherlands, as well as subsequently the duchy of Milan, on the extinction of the family of Sforza. The reign of Charles, though clouded with some misfortunes, was nevertheless distinguished during its greater portion, by the most brilliant success. The victory of Pavia, enhanced by the capture of Francis the First; the sack of Rome, the prosperous expedition against Tunis, and the battle of Muhlberg, by which he became for a time, nearly despotic in the German empire; — these achievements, while they covered him with personal glory, rendered him equally the admiration and terror of the European continent. The evening of his life did not however correspond with the splendour of his meridian, and justified the querulous remark which fell from him, that “fortune only favoured the young.” He was over-reached in policy, and compelled to fly before the arms of Maurice, a Prince of the ducal house of Saxony, whom he had protected, and had raised to the Electoral dignity. While suffering under the humiliation inflicted by so unexpected an attack, and anxious to repair his honour, at the same time that he recovered Metz from Henry the Second, King of France, Charles experienced a complete repulse under the walls of that city; the remains of his army escaping with difficulty from the ravages of pestilence, and the sword of an incensed enemy.

 C H A P.
III.

 1469—
1516.

 1516—
1556.
Reign of
Charles the
Fifth.

To

C H A P.

III.

1516—

1556.

His abdication.

To these political misfortunes, were added the pressure of personal and mental infirmity. A premature decay of his bodily powers, which unnerved his mind, left it open to the impression of various emotions, disregarded during the prosperity and confidence of youth. After long revolving the idea in his thoughts, he determined to abdicate his crowns, and to retire from the great situation, which he was no longer able to fill with energy and capacity. The most august and affecting exhibition of the inanity of human grandeur, which has perhaps been ever made, was that given by Charles the Fifth, at Brussels, when laying down the Insignia of his dignity, before an immense audience, melted into tears. Neither the abdications of Sylla, nor of Diocletian in antiquity, were accompanied with the same imposing concomitance of circumstances. Still less can the abdications of Philip the Fifth, King of Spain, or of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, which took place in the last century, enter into the slightest comparison with the act of Charles. All his titles and possessions descended to Philip his only son, with the exception of the imperial crown of Germany; which dignity, after many vain efforts to transfer from his brother Ferdinand, to the Prince of Spain, he was reluctantly obliged to yield to the former sovereign. Historians, reasoning partly from the nature of man, and partly from some grounds of discontent which were given him by Philip, have doubted whether the Emperor did not find occasion speedily to repent

his having made so vast and irrevocable a donation. Charles retired soon afterwards into Spain, and there terminated in a profound retreat, his memorable life. Its close was accelerated by exercises of devotion and penance, too severe for his enfeebled frame; and which seem to indicate, that his mind had suffered by the approach of age, and was debilitated, at least in proportion with his bodily organs. ^a

Philip the Second, who acceded to so many crowns, in the prime of life, was unquestionably at that period, the most powerful prince of the European system. The commencement of his reign received a peculiar lustre from the victories of St. Quintin, and of Gravelines; both successively gained over the French, by his two generals, Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and the celebrated Count Egmont, who was afterwards executed at Brussels, by order of his ungrateful master. A peace, not less honourable than advantageous to the monarchy of Spain, speedily followed these triumphs; and Philip, whose habits and manners were altogether Castilian, impatient at so long a detention in the Netherlands, embraced the first occasion of returning to his native dominions. He possessed many qualities, which might have enabled him to promote equally his own glory, and to advance the true welfare of his people. His understanding was sound, calm, and capacious; his mind, constantly occupied with the

C H A P.

III.

1516—

1556.

1556.
January.
Accession
of Philip
the Se-
cond.

His cha-
racter.

^a Mayerne Turquet's Hist. of Spain, passim. — Abr. Chronol. d'Espagne, vol. ii. passim.

C H A P.

III.

1556.

Endow-
ments and
virtues.

cares of government; and his vigilance unexampled, in directing his thoughts to the minutest details of administration. Superintending every affair in person, his interference was felt throughout the immense extent of his territories, in every quarter of the globe. In application he has rarely been equalled, perhaps never exceeded; and his strength of constitution aiding the activity of his talents, he dedicated whole nights to the labour of the cabinet, after having passed the day in the same painful exertions. Neither pleasure nor indolence relaxed his attention to public business. His information respecting the intrigues or measures projected in foreign courts, was superior to that possessed by any other contemporary prince; as it formed one of his maxims, that intelligence could scarcely be purchased by a sovereign, at too high a price. He enforced the rigid execution of public justice, and punished severely the infraction of the laws. Possessing great natural discernment, he knew how to distinguish, and how to call out superior talents. His ministers and generals were conscious that the eye and hand of a master was always present, who would investigate their conduct, and would rigorously appreciate its merits. Neither prosperity nor adversity altered the serenity of his demeanour, nor were capable of affecting the apathy of his temper. Seated at Madrid, as in the center of his vast dominions, he from thence surveyed, directed, and controuled all operations, not by delegates, but in person:

These

These great endowments of character, were CH A P.
 unfortunately contrasted by vices and pre- III.
 judices singularly insurmountable, as well as 1556.
 pernicious to his subjects. His bigotry was Vices and
 sullen, sanguinary, and active to purposes of crimes.
 destruction, like that of his wife and relation,
 Mary, Queen of England. It was sometimes
 inflamed by the natural severity of his temper,
 and frequently made the vehicle, or the mask,
 of his insatiable ambition; but it never became
 mollified or extinguished, at any period of his
 reign. Its operation, which produced the re-
 volt of the Netherlands, carried terror into
 every part of the Spanish monarchy; and shed
 torrents of human blood, during the insurrec-
 tion of the Moors in the province of Grenada,
 which his persecution had originally provoked.
 Even the memory of his own father, and the
 remains of those individuals who had been while
 living, most dear to Charles the Fifth, were not
 secure from Philip's religious rage. To this de-
 structive principle, even more than to his love
 of empire, are to be traced and justly ascribed,
 the calamities of his reign, and the detestation
 with which posterity has marked his character.
 Scarcely any prince in modern times, has been
 considered with such general abhorrence and
 antipathy. Nor did his private conduct in do-
 mestic life, afford any extenuation for his poli-
 tical crimes. Suspicious, vindictive, dissem-
 bling, and implacable, he shewed himself the
 tyrant of his family, as much as the scourge of
 his people. Accused of having hastened the
 death

C H A P. death of his second Queen, Elizabeth of France,
 III. as well as that of his son Don Carlos, and of his
 1556. natural brother, Don John of Austria; — even
 if these atrocious charges are not sustained by
 positive evidence, yet it will be still more diffi-
 cult to exculpate him from the murder of Esco-
 vedo; from having authorized the assassination
 of William, Prince of Orange; and from many
 other flagitious acts, performed by his com-
 mand, or undertaken at his suggestion.

Possessing boundless ambition, yet destitute
 of talents for war; and like Augustus, hardly
 supposed to possess even personal courage, he
 delighted in all the dark machinations of the
 cabinet; while from the recesses of his closet
 in the Escorial, he fed or fomented dissen-
 sion in every surrounding state. Capable of
 yielding to the impulse of love, and of forming
 connections of gallantry, his furious passions
 and relentless jealousy rendered them not only
 fatal to his confidants, but dangerous even to
 the object of his affection. Dreaded in his own
 court and capital, odious to all foreign nations;
 not beloved, even by the see of Rome, to which
 he professed and displayed so entire a devotion;
 personally estranged from, and condemned by
 his own relations of the German branch of the
 house of Austria; dear only to inquisitors; his
 reign was marked by the rapid decline and ex-
 tinction of that enormous power, which had me-
 naced and terrified Europe. Spain, though sus-
 tained by the emulation and valour of the finest
 troops, and fed by the perpetual influx of wealth
 from

from the New World, yet became unequal to the vast expenditure, caused by Philip's boundless projects of power and aggrandizement. He was disappointed in all his views upon France, so nearly realized; repulsed by Elizabeth, in his memorable attack upon England; and finally driven out of Holland, by the revolt of his own subjects, which had been occasioned by the oppressions of his general, the Duke of Alva.^b

C H A P.
III.
1556.

Among the numerous provinces which entered into the component mass of the Spanish monarchy, there were not any more commercial, populous, wealthy, and important, than those of the Netherlands. They were however held by Philip, under a tenure less absolute than almost any other portion of his hereditary dominions; the people having retained, from the generous policy of their ancient princes of the house of Burgundy, many of the most valuable political, no less than civil franchises and immunities. Their inhabitants the Flemings, had been peculiarly dear to, and cherished by Charles the Fifth, who was himself a native of the city of Ghent. During the space of eighty years, they had been governed by females; and the mild administration of Mary, Queen of Hungary, sister to the late emperor, which had recently expired, rendered them more impatient of any rigorous controul. The

1556—
1559.
State of
the Low
Countries,
at Philip's
accession.

^b Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, folio, p. 318. Mayerne Turquet, p. 1286—1288. Desormeaux Hist. d'Espagne, vol. iv. p. 191—195. Abregé Chron. d'Esp. vol. ii. p. 456—458. Gregorio Leti. Vie de Philippe Second, vol. vi. p. 396—443. De Thou, vol. xiii. p. 228—236.

C H A P. new opinions of Luther and of Calvin had
 found an easy introduction, and had experienced a welcome reception, among a people accustomed to disquisition, as well as fond of religious enquiry. The severe edicts issued by Charles, with a view to prevent all innovation, or the promulgation of doctrines stigmatized as heretical by the church of Rome, had not produced any permanent effect; and the extensive wars in which that monarch was involved during almost his whole reign, had impeded their execution, or diminished their violence. But Philip, whose predominant passion was the extirpation of heresy, had no sooner concluded a peace with France, than he manifested his determination to enforce by rigorous measures, his father's edicts. In order to effect this point, and to suppress the first appearances of departure from the purity of the Catholic faith; he, by virtue of a papal permission, but in violation of the ancient privileges of the Low Countries, augmented the number of bishopricks, and assigned them episcopal revenues. Not content with the assumption of a power unacknowledged by the constitution of the Netherlands, and odious in its own nature; he openly avowed his intention to introduce into the Low Countries, the holy office of the Inquisition, according to the manner in which it was exercised in Spain. The affectionate loyalty of the Flemings, who had voluntarily made him the donation of a million of Florins, (a sum exceeding eighty thousand pounds

III.
 1556—
 1559.
 Innovations, and
 acts of arbitrary
 power.

pounds sterling,) immediately after the conclusion of the war with France; tended in no degree to mollify the zeal, or to retard the resolution of Philip, upon a point where his bigotted prejudices, and his furious passions, equally impelled him to perseverance. The seeds of disaffection thus early sown, required only time and occasion to ripen them into revolt; an effect which would unquestionably have manifested itself with more rapidity, if its progress had not been retarded by the adherence of the nobility to the sovereign, coupled with the attachment felt by all ranks of people, for the person to whose wisdom and moderation, Philip, at his departure for Spain, had delegated the government of the Netherlands.^c

Margaret, natural daughter of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and wife of Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, was selected by her brother, the King of Spain, for so delicate, as well as arduous an employment. She had attained at this time, the thirty-seventh year of her age, and seemed to be endowed with almost every quality which could enable her to maintain the repose, while she augmented the felicity of the people entrusted to her care. Resembling her father, in the affability and condescension of her manners; a talent so powerful in its operation, and so conciliatory of general affection; her natural parts, vigorous, solid, and formed

CHAP.
III.

1556—

1559.

1559 —

1561.

Duchess of
Parma ap-
pointed
governess
of the Ne-
therlands.
Her cha-
racter.

^c Strada, de Bello Belg. vol. i. p. 45 — 65. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 26 — 28.

CHAP. for government, had been cultivated by education, and matured by experience. She equally knew how to yield with dignity, as well as how to deny with firmness. Being herself a native of Flanders, she had studied the character of its inhabitants, and adapted her administration to the genius, prejudices, and peculiar circumstances of the Flemings. Sincere in her own profession and adherence to the Catholic religion, her enlargement of mind, and her superiority to narrow bigotry, induced her nevertheless to oppose, though unsuccessfully, the furious zeal of Philip. Convinced by the force of her judgment, of the danger and impracticability of reducing to one standard of faith, a people among whom the new opinions had taken so strong a hold; she yet, while she remonstrated, endeavoured to enforce the orders transmitted to her from Madrid. Blending gentleness with the severity enjoined by Philip; temporising, when necessity demanded lenient measures; and suspending or mitigating those edicts, which were calculated to produce a general insurrection; by her dextrous management she preserved the veneration and love of the Flemings, even at the time that she was made the instrument of their oppression.^d

The jealous precaution of the King of Spain induced him, at the time when he appointed Margaret of Parma, his Governess of the Low

^d Bentivoglio, p. 8—12. Strada, vol. i. p. 67—81. Greg. Leti. vol. ii. p. 266, 267:

Countries; to place near her person, and in a certain degree to associate with her in the administration of the seventeen provinces, Anthony Perrenot, known in history by the title of Cardinal Granvelle. He had been employed by Charles the Fifth, who warmly recommended Perrenot's talents and services, to his son Philip. No individual of that century, so fertile in extraordinary and illustrious men, was superior to Granvelle in many of the most eminent endowments of the human mind; peculiarly in those which distinguish and characterise a statesman. Courage, secrecy, flexibility, penetration, fortitude; even his enemies allowed him to possess these qualities. His application to business was unremitting; and such was the comprehensive facility of his genius, that he could conduct and regulate without confusion, at the same time, matters of the most complex and intricate nature. Notwithstanding these talents, so fitted for the government of mankind, his implicit devotion to the councils of the court of Spain, and the warmth with which he prosecuted the unfortunate objects of Philip's religious animosity, rendered Granvelle universally odious to the Flemings*. The departure of the Spanish troops from the Netherlands, had been loudly demanded by all ranks of men; and the long delay interposed to carrying the measure into execution, which was attributed to the advice and influence of the

CHAP.
III.

1559—
1561.

Character
of Cardinal
Gran-
velle.

* Bentivog. p. 13, 14. Strada, vol. I. p. 128—141.

C H A P. Cardinal, tended to complete his unpopularity.

III.

1559—

1561.

Departure
of the
Spanish
troops.

Even though at length, those veteran and formidable bands, so obnoxious to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, were finally embarked from the ports of Zealand; yet the effect and benefit which might have resulted from an act of that nature, were lost by its taking place at a moment of distress, when Philip having sustained a defeat at Gerbes, on the coast of Barbary, was supposed to yield to necessity, rather than to concede to inclination. ^f

1561—

1563.

Character
of Wil-
liam,
Prince of
Orange.

At the head of the body of nobles, who had taken a decided part against Cardinal Granvelle, in defence of the immunities of the Flemings, must be placed William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. Though he had scarcely attained to the maturity of manhood, yet his character seemed to partake more of the sagacity and coolness that distinguish age, than of the intemperance natural to youth. His taciturnity was constitutional and habitual. Cautious, and ever apprehensive of danger, he nevertheless met it when unavoidable, with determined courage. The marks of capacity, fidelity, and virtue, which he exhibited at a very early period of his life, had endeared him to Charles the Fifth, who had disclosed his partiality for the Prince of Orange, and given him the most distinguishing proofs of consideration and esteem. But, the predilection manifested by the Emperor, had not recommended him to Philip; while the degree of am-

^f Strada, vol. i. p. 61—170.

biguity which William observed upon the great article of religious belief and practice, tended still further to alarm and alienate the King of Spain.⁸

C H A P.
III.
1564.

The recal of Cardinal Granvelle, to which Philip at length reluctantly consented, might have extinguished the growing discontents of the Low Countries, if at the time when he withdrew that minister, he had likewise abandoned the system of religious tyranny, in which he had hitherto persisted. But, neither the repeated entreaties of the Flemish nobility, who deputed Count Egmont as their advocate, to carry him their united supplications to the foot of his throne at Madrid; nor the remonstrances and advice of Margaret herself, who represented to him in the strongest language, the calamities which impended over the Netherlands, if he persisted to introduce the Tribunal of the Inquisition; could effect any beneficial change in Philip's determination. Sustained by his insuperable and bigotted prejudices; inflamed by the pastoral exhortations of Pius the Fifth, a Dominican monk of the most zealous and sanguinary temper, who had newly succeeded to the chair of St. Peter; incensed against his subjects, for presuming to reclaim, and to defend their privileges; and not less irritated at the protection extended to the inferior orders of people, by the Flemish nobles;—these conjoined motives rendered him deaf to every consideration of clemency, or even of policy, and

Discon-
tents of the
Flemings.

⁸ Strada, vol. i. p. 143—158. Bentiv. p. 5, 6.

C H A P. of self-interest^b. He resisted with equal pertinacity, the request which the Governess of the Low Countries continually urged, and her advice, of imitating the example of the Emperor Charles; who, on the first appearance of the memorable sedition of Ghent in 1539, repairing immediately in person to the scene of revolt, had crushed it by his presence, vigour, and activity.

Conduct of Philip.

This wise and salutary counsel met with insuperable obstacles, from the character, as well as the personal apprehensions of Philip; and though, being conscious of its expediency, he continually affected to make preparations for its adoption, yet motives or reasons still more powerful retained him at Madrid. He probably felt averse to appearing at the head of an army, for the conduct of which he was unqualified by any military talents or inclinations; and he preferred the system, more analagous to his genius, of issuing his orders from the silence of the cabinet. He was embarrassed in the interior of Spain, by the revolt of the Moors of Grenada; while he found himself necessitated to watch the naval motions of the Turks, in order to defend his coasts from foreign invasion. He dreaded more than all, the possible consequences of leaving behind him his only son, Don Carlos, respecting whose obedience and submission he had conceived the strongest suspicions. When therefore, after numerous delays, he at length

^b Bentiv. p. 17, 18. Strada, vol. i. p. 254: 256.

granted

granted Margaret permission to dismiss the In-quisitors, and to modify in some measure the edicts against heresy; he fettered the concession with so many exceptions, or weakened it by such conditions, as to defeat its beneficial effects¹. The Flemings, weary of expecting redress, secretly stimulated by the great nobility, and believing the Governess to be incapable of repressing them by force, on account of the unarmed condition to which she was reduced, in consequence of the departure of the Spanish troops; rose in tumultuary bodies. — They committed the greatest excesses against the Catholics, plundered the monasteries, and defaced the churches.

C H A P.
III.

1564—
1567.

Infurrec-
tions in the
Nether-
lands;

Margaret, nevertheless, by her vigour and ability, joined to the universal affection which her wise and popular administration had conciliated, was enabled to suppress this dangerous insurrection. She even obtained some decisive advantages over the insurgents, defeated, and dispersed them. The cities which had joined their party, being besieged, were compelled to surrender. Her remonstrances, when added to the personal consideration and respect which she inspired, induced the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont themselves, to aid her in extinguishing the revolt. Philip's government derived strength from its temporary subversion; and every possible reparation was made to the Catholic religion, as well as to its ministers, for the outrages which they had sustained on the

quelled by
Marga-
ret's pru-
dence and
lenity.

¹ Strada, vol. ii. p. 59—63.

C H A P.
III.

1564—
1567.

part of the insurgents. The royal authority was not only maintained in all its force, but the followers of the new opinions were punished with exemplary severity. Margaret, after making her triumphal entry into Antwerp, restored a general calm to the provinces; and notwithstanding the seeds of discontent which yet remained, her firm, but gentle administration would have gradually surmounted them, if Philip, from a spirit of implacable despotism, had not overturned and frustrated her labours. Instead of embracing the humane and generous expedient recommended by his sister, of coming in person to the Netherlands, not as a sovereign, to chastise, but as a father, to forgive; he followed a line of conduct more adapted to his arbitrary and vindictive disposition. He determined to send the Duke of Alva, at the head of an army, to conquer and enslave his subjects; a resolution the most fatal in its nature, to which may be justly ascribed the loss of a considerable part of the Low Countries, and the eventual decline of the Spanish monarchy. *

Policy and
enterprizes
of Philip.

During the portion of Philip's reign which elapsed between his departure from the Netherlands, on his return to Spain, and the beginning of the civil wars in the Low Countries; a period including near seven years; many signal events, in the conduct of which his character and policy come forward emi-

* Bentiv. p. 19—45. Strada, vol. i. p. 263—449. passim. and vol. ii. p. 1—72. passim. Mayerne Turquet, p. 1126.

nently

nently to view, took place throughout other parts of his vast dominions. In the survey of these measures or transactions, we every where discover the same watchful vigilance, the same bigotted principles, and the same unrelenting severity, which characterised his government of the Flemings. Among the principal objects to which his attention was constantly directed, the protection of the coasts of Spain against the ravages of the Turks, occupied the first place. The Ottomans were at that time governed by one of the greatest princes who has swayed their sceptre, Solymán the Second; and though he was far advanced in years, yet the vigour of his mind, as well as his ambition of adding new provinces to his former conquests, seemed in no degree to have diminished. Dragut, King or Bey of Tripoli, a feudal vassal of the Turkish Sultan, powerfully sustained the honor of his master's arms. At the commencement of Philip's reign, Dragut had defeated a formidable naval armament, commanded by the Duke of Medina Cœli, which had been sent by the King of Spain, to the coast of Barbary. Not content with obtaining this advantage, he spread terror throughout the whole Mediterranean; captured a Spanish fleet near the shore of Sicily; and landing on the island, carried off into captivity, a prodigious number of its inhabitants, as well as an immense plunder. During the subsequent years, he treated in a similar manner, the defenceless and unprotected provinces of Calabria and of Abruzzo,

C H A P.
III.1564—
1567.

C H A P. Abruzzo, situate in the kingdom of Naples¹.
 III.

1564—

1567.

Philip was not only unable to take vengeance, or to exact any reparation for these insults on his crown, and the injuries sustained by his people: he proved equally unfortunate in an attempt to make himself master of Penon de Velez, a fortress situate upon an island near the coast of Morocco, whence the Moors committed continual depredations on the Spanish commerce.^m

Expeditions in
 Barbary.

These disasters and disgraces were however compensated in some measure, by the gallant defence which the garrisons of Oran and of Mazerquiver, two fortresses on the coast of Barbary, made against the forces of Hascem, Prince or Dey of Algiers, who was compelled to retire with loss and dishonor, from the siege of both places. Penon de Velez, attacked a second time by Don Garcia de Toledo, being taken, was garrisoned in consequence of orders from the King of Spainⁿ. But, the principal action in which Philip justly acquired renown, and by which he rendered a distinguished service to the Christian world, was in contributing to the relief of Malta, then closely besieged by the Turks, and reduced, notwithstanding the heroic valour of the knights,

¹ Mayerne Turquet, p. 1083—1085. and 1086—1093. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 352, 353. and p. 357. Gregorio Leti, vol. ii. p. 311—319. and p. 386—389. and p. 393.

^m Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 363.

ⁿ Turquet, p. 1112, 1113. Leti, vol. ii. p. 519—522, and 467—470. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 361—363. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 40. and 44.

to the last extremity. His fleet arriving to their aid, obliged the enemy to make a precipitate retreat; and Don Alvaro de Sande, who commanded the Spanish troops, landing on the island, where he gave battle to the Turks, completed their destruction.^o

C H A P.
III.
1564—
1567.
Relief of
Malta.

While Philip, as the common defender of the Christian states, thus maintained a perpetual conflict with Solyman; and on some occasions derived no inconsiderable degree of glory, from his interposition for the protection of Europe against the Ottoman power; he did not neglect another object, which was ever present to his mind; the universal extirpation of heresy. Previous to his arrival in Spain from the Netherlands, at a very early period of his reign, the most rigorous punishments had been inflicted by his express command, on those who were suspected of having deserted the Catholic faith. These cruel sacrifices, at which humanity shudders, were not only renewed on his return, but were solemnized with a species of pomp and ceremony, in his immediate presence. Incredible as it may appear, forty individuals of both sexes, and some among them, of condition, were committed to the flames, at Valladolid; while in the subsequent year, no less a number than seventy were publicly consumed at Seville^p. The King, who expressed a barbarous satisfac-

Persecut-
ing zeal of
Philip.

^o Leti, vol. iii. p. 21—48. Turquet, p. 1114—1119. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 371—374.

^p Leti, vol. ii. p. 291—294. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 348—350, and p. 354.

CHAP. III. tion at the executions, suited to the gloomy and
 1564— ferocious spirit of his religion; was encouraged
 1567. to persist in them, by the exhortations of the
 papal see, which honoured him with every flattering epithet and encomium, as the champion of the Romish church. Not content with extinguishing the new opinions in Spain, his indefatigable and vigilant zeal extended over every part of his dominions, with similar violence. Having received information, that in some obscure districts of Calabria, the doctrines of Calvinism had penetrated, he sent peremptory orders to the Viceroy of Naples, which were literally executed, to put every individual to death^a. Even beyond the limits of his power, his exhortations and support were not spared, in order to induce other princes to imitate his example. The Spanish governor of the Milaneze was enjoined to aid Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, in the massacre of the peaceful peasants of the secluded valley of Angrogno; who had committed no offence against their prince, except the crime of embracing the reformed doctrines^r. The same ardent and sanguinary enthusiasm incited Philip to write a letter of compliment and acknowledgment to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, at the other extremity of Europe, on that Prince's having caused several Jews, accused of impiety and profanation, to be burnt at the stake.^s

^a Leti, vol. ii. p. 371, 372.

^s Ibid. vol. ii. p. 112—114.

^r Ibid. p. 372, 373.

Such, indeed, was the depressed state of the human mind, at this time, throughout Spain; so much had the tribunal of the Inquisition impressed general terror by its severity; and so confirmed was the despotism of Philip, that not a murmur seems to have been heard against these tyrannical acts. The Archbishop of Toledo, a prelate of exemplary life, in whose arms the Emperor Charles the Fifth had expired; on a bare suspicion of leaning to some heretical opinions, was arrested, and committed to a dungeon. The King publicly declared, that "he would not spare his own son, if convicted of this unpardonable crime;" and no exertions were omitted on the part of the government, even by holding out inducements to a violation of the most sacred bonds of private amity and confidence, in order to discover and deliver over to the Inquisitors, every person who was believed to approve the religious tenets of Luther and Calvin.

Notwithstanding, however, the profound submission with which Philip's commands were received and obeyed throughout the kingdom of Spain, he experienced the limits of his authority, when he attempted to introduce the same dreaded ecclesiastical tribunal, into the dependant branches of the monarchy. Even the college of Cardinals disapproved his request made to the sovereign pontiff, for permitting its establishment in the dutchy of Milan, and in

^t Turquet, p. 1119—1123. Leti, vol. ii. p. 236.

C H A P. the Neapolitan dominions. But, the inhabit-
 III. ants themselves of those countries, of every
 1564— order and class of subjects, opposed more in-
 1567. surmountable obstacles to Philip's design, by
 declaring that they never would submit to so
 detestable an institution, and by their prepara-
 tions to resist its entrance by force of arms.
 Convinced of the impracticability of this dan-
 gerous experiment, he at length reluctantly
 desisted from its prosecution.^u

Beneficial
 and liberal
 institutions
 of Philip.

The sanguinary zeal, which throughout his
 whole reign, he demonstrated in defence of the
 Catholic religion, and which constituted the pre-
 dominant feature of his character; did not how-
 ever prevent him from attending to many objects
 of inferior moment, some of which were wor-
 thy a great monarch, and others reflect honour
 upon his government. Philip laid the foundation
 of the palace of the Escorial, after having trans-
 ferred the royal residence from Toledo to Ma-
 drid, which latter place began under him to be
 regarded as the capital of Spain. He expended
 the wealth of Peru and of Mexico, in the im-
 mense edifice of the Escorial, which he enriched
 with the choicest productions of art and genius^x.
 Hermando, a celebrated naturalist, was dis-
 patched by him to America, in order to make ac-
 curate drawings of the plants and animals found
 throughout the New World; a commission
 which he executed with uncommon skill. This

^u Leti, vol. ii. p. 457—461, and p. 491, 492.

^x Ibid. p. 446—449. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 354. Desormeaux,
 vol. iv. p. 43.

invaluable

invaluable work, contained in fifteen volumes, compiled with incredible labour and expence, was by the King's direction deposited in the Royal Monastery of St. Laurence, near his own person, and under his immediate care^y. The archives of the Spanish monarchy, together with many of the most curious documents of state, which the negligence or the ignorance of his predecessors had suffered to be lost; having collected anew, he commanded to be carefully preserved in the castle of Simencas. An example deserving of universal imitation, and which, in that century, could boast of no precedent in any European kingdom.^z

C H A P
III.

1564—
1567.

The Philippine islands, situate at the farthest extremity of Asia, were discovered, subjected to the Spanish crown, and colonized^a. Philip manifested in his treatment of Don John of Austria, a degree of generosity and affection, which, had not his subsequent conduct effaced, might have entitled him to the greatest praise. This youth, a natural son of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who having been brought up in ignorance of his birth, remained in obscurity; the King recognized, treated him with fraternal regard, ordered him to receive the public honours due to his proximity of blood, and condescended to superintend his education. Don John gave early proofs of that heroic courage, and those superior endowments, which, after

His treat-
ment of
Don John
of Austria.

^y Leti, vol.iii. p.56—59.

^z Ibid. vol.iii. p. 59—63.

^a Ibid. vol.ii. p.522—525.

C H A P. having covered him with personal glory, eventually conducted him to a premature death, not without suspicions of his end having been accelerated by his brother and sovereign.^b

III.

1564—

1567.

History of
Don Carlos.

In the midst of these various occupations of foreign and domestic policy, a calamity, one of the most afflicting which human nature can experience, while it embittered the repose of Philip, finally involved his character in universal detestation. Don Carlos, his only son, heir to the Spanish monarchy, had from his infancy betrayed symptoms of an intractable spirit, added to a ferocious temper; if not proofs of a depraved and vicious disposition. Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry the Second, had been originally destined for his wife; but, Mary, Queen of England, dying in 1558, before the completion of the treaty, Philip substituted himself in the place of the prince. It was commonly believed and asserted, that Don Carlos had expressed on the occasion, sentiments of resentment against his father, for having deprived him of a young and accomplished princess, whose age appeared to be much more suited to his own, and for whom he had imbibed or conceived sentiments of inclination. Philip, nevertheless, soon after his return to Spain from the Low-Countries, caused Don Carlos to be solemnly acknowledged heir to all his dominions, in an assembly of the states, convened at Toledo. But, finding that as his

^b Strada, vol. ii. p. 472—477.

son advanced to manhood, he became more ungovernable, and betrayed many dangerous propensities or vices, the King sent him to study at the university of Alcala. In embracing this expedient, Philip not only meant to humanize and soften his manners, by the knowledge of letters; but hoped to inspire him with emulation, from the continual presence and society of Don John of Austria, and of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, both of whom were nearly of his own age. The success of the experiment did not, however, answer the King's intention. Don Carlos preserved all the natural intractability of his character; and the violence of his passions seemed to be augmented, in proportion as the strength of his understanding became weakened, by the effect of a fall which happened during this period of his life. He received a concussion of the brain; languished for a considerable time, in extreme danger; and on his recovery, grew more unmanageable in all respects.

C H A P.
III.

1564—

1567.

Intracta-
bility of
his cha-
racter.

The King, from this æra, seems to have meditated the project of devolving the crown to another successor. Having then no other issue, male or female, with a view apparently of setting aside his son, he invited into Spain the two Austrian arch-dukes, Rodolphus and Ernest, sons of his cousin Maximilian, King of the Romans, who soon afterwards ascended the imperial throne. They complied with the summons, were received on their arrival at Barcelona by Philip, and resided several years in his

C H A P. court. As a further proof of his disgust to Don
 III. Carlos, he found excuses for delaying, and
 1564— finally defeating the marriage of that unfortu-
 1567. nate prince, with the Arch-duchess Anne of
 Austria, whose hand had been promised him.
 No longer concealing his aversion for his son,
 Philip not only removed him from any partici-
 pation in affairs of state or government, but en-
 tertained spies constantly near his person, who
 reported all his words and actions. Labouring
 under such restraints, and marks of alienation
 on the part of his father, Don Carlos, as
 might naturally have been expected, conceived
 a reciprocal hatred for the author of his mis-
 fortunes. His perverse temper, irritated by
 disgrace, broke out into the most violent ex-
 cesses; and he is said by contemporary writers,
 to have often pursued the King's ministers,
 sword in hand, with an intention of sacrificing
 them to his fury.

Severity of
 Philip's
 conduct to-
 wards his
 son.

In addition to these indications of an infirm
 or alienated mind, various crimes have been
 laid to his charge, including in their most ex-
 tensive sense, the enormous guilt of treason,
 incest, and intentional parricide. But, the only
 accusation which appears to amount to proof,
 is his having expressed a decided disapproba-
 tion of his father's severe measures respecting
 the Flemings; and having plotted to withdraw
 himself secretly from Spain, with a view of
 joining the insurgents in Flanders. The una-
 nimous testimony of historians, which renders
 this allegation highly probable, receives addi-
 tional

Death of
 Don Car-
 los.

tional strength from various corroborating circumstances. Yet it must be admitted, that the same darkness and obscurity which conceal the precise nature of Don Carlos's end, are in a great measure common likewise to his crime. We only know with certainty, that he was arrested by Philip in person, during the night, while in his bed; that he was treated with extreme rigour as a state criminal, confined under strict guard for above six months, and finally that he terminated his days in that state of imprisonment. Even those writers who deny, or who doubt, that the King became his son's executioner, yet admit that the Prince accelerated and produced his own dissolution, from the effects of irritation and despair. The execration with which Philip was loaded throughout Europe, evinced the general sentiments entertained of his gloomy and unrelenting character.^c

The eighteenth century witnessed a renewal of nearly the same tragedy, acted at the other extremity of the continent, on the banks of the Neva. There appears to be a striking coincidence of character between Don Carlos, and the Czarowitz Alexis, who were distinguished by equal brutality and intractability of manners, as well as of mind. Peter, notwithstanding his many great qualities, resembled Philip in his severity and despotism. Nor can we, in a

CHAP.
III.

1564—
1567.

1568.
July.

^c Turquet, p. 1126, and 1138—1136. Leti, vol. iii. p. 292—341. Abregé Histor. vol. ii. p. 384—386. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 66, 67. Strada, vol. ii. p. 120—129.

CHAP. moral point of view, justify the Czar's punishment of his son, however it might be dictated by reasons of state policy. Yet does he not excite the same detestation as Philip, who, after dispatching his only son, was believed by his contemporaries to have treated his Queen in a similar manner.

Death of
the Queen.

The death of Elizabeth, Queen of Spain, who only survived Don Carlos about two months, and whose end was accompanied with some very ambiguous circumstances that seemed to indicate poison, afforded new subject for calumny or accusation. She was a princess of the most amiable character, and of irreproachable manners: but her personal attractions, her youth, and above all, the substitution of Philip as her husband, in the place of Don Carlos, for whom she had been intended; presented obvious matter for curious enquiry, as well as for malignant conjecture, on the causes of her premature dissolution^d. Domestic calamities of so severe a nature, neither affected however the internal tranquillity of Spain, nor diminished the King's habitual application to affairs of state. Almost immediately after the decease of the Queen, by whom, though she had left him two daughters, he had no male issue; a treaty was begun on the part of Philip, and a demand was made of the Arch-duchess Anne, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian the Second, for his fourth wife. The marriage was accomplished, and

^d Turquet, p. 1136. Leti, vol. iii. p. 342, 343.

solemnized near two years afterwards; Philip, by a fatality without example, having twice carried off the princesses destined for his son.^c

Ferdinand de Toledo, Duke of Alva, having been selected for the instrument of the King's severity on his Flemish subjects, and having received his instructions, prepared about this time, to pass over into Italy; from whence his orders were to transport himself, at the head of a formidable army, through Germany, to the Netherlands. The inflexibility and haughty arrogance of his character, rendered him peculiarly fit for so odious a commission. His great military talents, joined to his unconcealed detestation of heresy, inspired universal terror; and seemed to leave no alternative to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, except unconditional submission, or desperate resistance. Every effort was made by Margaret of Parma, to dissuade Philip from adopting so unpopular a measure, which she predicted to him, would be followed by civil war. The Emperor Maximilian the Second, after vainly adding his exhortations to those of Margaret, dispatched his brother, the Archduke Charles, from Vienna to Madrid; with orders to deprecate the ruin which must ensue, from the introduction of Spanish forces into Flanders, under such a leader. Even in the council of Spain, the King's own Confessor, and some of the most moderate of his ministers, urged every argument, with a view

CHAP.
III.
1567,
1568.
Duke of
Alva sent
to the Low
Countries.

^c Strada, vol. ii. p. 196, 197. Leti, vol. iii. p. 492—494.

CHAP. to avert so destructive a resolution. The The-
 III. ologians themselves who were consulted by
 1567, Philip, gave it as their opinion, that in the
 1568. actual condition of Flanders, with a rebellion
 in prospect; a mitigated degree of toleration
 and liberty of conscience might be granted,
 without incurring any guilt, or participation of
 criminality. But the bigotry and prejudices of
 Philip, sustained by the natural severity of his
 character, rendered him deaf to every sugges-
 tion of policy or of humanity. He did not
 hesitate to declare, that "rather than reign
 "over subjects of a religion different from his
 "own, he was content to lose his crown;"
 nor could any motives derived from considera-
 tions of state, operate upon his impervious and
 inexorable mind.^f

Resigna-
 tion of
 Margaret
 of Parma.

The arrival and appearance of the Duke of
 Alva in the Low Countries, at the head of
 the veteran bands of Spain, was immediately
 followed by all the calamities which Marga-
 ret had foreseen, but which she could not
 avert. Her resignation of the office of Go-
 verness of the Netherlands, formed the pre-
 lude to these evils, and was regarded by the
 Flemings, as in itself the greatest of misfor-
 tunes. Her utter inability to prevent the
 oppressions which she saw exercised, her par-
 tial attachment towards her native country,
 and her indignation at the extent of the

^f Strada, vol. ii. p. 63—73. Bentivog. p. 40—45. Leti, vol. iii.
 p. 122—138. Turquet, p. 1126, and p. 1129.

powers delegated by her brother to the Spanish general;—these combined motives induced her warmly to solicit permission for resigning a situation, which she could no longer fill with dignity, or exercise with benefit. Philip having, though with apparent reluctance, consented to her request; she soon afterwards quitted Flanders, accompanied by the benedictions and regrets of every order of people^s. On the Duke of Alva's entrance into Brussels, she had been a reluctant witness to the first act of his duplicity and violence; that of arresting two great nobles, Counts Egmont and Horn, both of whom were taken into custody as they prepared to quit the council of state, at which they had been summoned to assist. Many other persons of rank or consideration were at the same time seized, and committed to prison. But, the Prince of Orange, the most able, powerful, and formidable individual in the Netherlands, more cautious than his associates, and better instructed in the secret sanguinary orders entrusted by Philip to the Duke of Alva, escaped the danger. He lost not an instant, on the approach of this general, to withdraw into Germany, with his family and followers. Cardinal Granvelle, who by experience knew the extent of his capacity, and the depth of his resources; when he received information of the Prince having evaded the snare, express-

Counts of
Egmont
and Horn,
arrested.

Escape of
the Prince
of Orange.

^s Strada, vol. ii. p. 94—102.

CHAP. III. ed his deep concern, nor did he hesitate to assert, that while William remained at liberty, nothing effectual had been attained by the seizure of the other nobles, for the accomplishment of Philip's ultimate views.ⁿ

1567.
1568.

1568.

Tyranny
of the
Duke of
Alva.

Every measure of the Duke of Alva's government proved to the Flemings, that their liberties were extinct, and that a systematical plan of oppression, violence, and confiscation, had been adopted by the court of Spain. A citadel was constructed at Antwerp, by the Duke's command, in order to awe that wealthy and mutinous city, then the emporium of the commerce of Germany, France, and England. The council of blood, as it was denominated, consisting of twelve persons, named by the same despotic power, took cognizance of all offences; and in contempt of the antient usages of the national tribunals, decided in a summary manner, without appeal, upon the lives and fortunes of the citizens. All the expostulations of the Emperor Maximilian, in favour of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, as constituting a portion or circle of the German empire, were rejected by Philip. The Prince of Orange and his adherents being adjudged guilty of high treason, the prisons were filled with victims condemned to suffer death. Count Culembourg's palace, in which the nobles had met at Brussels, when they presented their first petition to Margaret of Parma, to reclaim

^a Bentivog. p. 46, 47. Leti, vol. iii. p. 148—176.

their

their privileges, was razed to the ground, as a structure polluted by rebellion. The tyranny of the new governor, sustained by an army of Spaniards and Italians, appeared to have overcome all resistance; while the Netherlands seemed to be reduced to the same prostrate condition and abject obedience, with the other countries scattered over Europe, which composed the Spanish monarchy.ⁱ

CHAP.
III.
1568.

This state of apparent calm was nevertheless of short duration. Louis, and Adolphus of Nassau, brothers to William, Prince of Orange, having collected some followers, marched into the province of Friesland, at the head of a considerable force, composed principally of Germans. They were attacked by Count Aremberg, whom they routed; and the victors elated by their success, immediately laid siege to the city of Groningen, one of the most important fortresses in the North of Holland.^k

Entry of a
German
army into
Friesland.

When intelligence of an event so favourable to the cause of the insurgents, arrived at Brussels, the Duke of Alva, more irritated than depressed by the news, determined instantly to proceed in person against them, at the head of the troops under his command. He was induced to adopt this measure, by the hope of extinguishing the rebellion before it should become more formidable, in conse-

ⁱ Strada, vol. ii. p. 109. 119. Bentivog. p. 48—53.

^k Strada, vol. ii. p. 129—135. Bentivog. 54—56.

CHAP. III. 1568. quence of the additional strength which the Prince of Orange was known to be collecting in the German empire. But, previous to quitting the seat of government and the interior provinces, the Duke's apprehension of the attempts which might be made by a discontented and incensed people during his absence, to rescue the principal persons detained in prison, induced him to adopt the resolution of accelerating their execution. The sentiments of horror justly excited by the numbers who were successively led to the scaffold, and the circumstances of cruelty which accompanied many of the punishments inflicted, were in a considerable degree obliterated in the general indignation produced by the deaths of Counts Egmont and Horn. These two noblemen, descended from the most illustrious families of Flanders, and not less distinguished by their virtues, than by their universal popularity, had already been confined during nine months, in the citadel of Ghent. Both had performed eminent services to the state, in peace, as well as in war: those rendered to Philip by Count Egmont, were even such as it rarely falls to the lot of a subject to execute for his sovereign. Their conduct during the administration of Margaret of Parma, however in some instances it might appear equivocal, or favourable to the civil liberties of their countrymen the Flemings, could not justly be regarded as disloyal and treasonable to the state. Sentence

Execution
of Egmont
and Horn.

tence was notwithstanding passed on them by the Duke of Alva, in consequence of directions received from Philip; and it was carried into execution at Brussels, with a publicity and solemnity more calculated to excite vengeance, than to impress terror. They were beheaded; their deaths terminating the long list of eminent persons, who had been offered up to the resentment of the Spanish court.¹

CHAP.
III.
1568.

No sooner was this tragic exhibition closed, than the Duke instantly putting himself at the head of the army, directed his course towards Groningen, the siege of which was raised by the insurgents, before his arrival. Anxious to efface the dishonour and loss recently sustained by the defeat of Count Aremberg, he pursued Louis of Nassau, who retreated before him; and who having occupied a very strong position, which was rendered still more difficult by art, waited for the Duke of Alva's attack: but the valour and discipline of the royal troops, directed by so experienced a commander, surmounted every obstacle. A mutiny which took place among the Germans in Louis's army, on account of the arrears of their pay, at the same juncture which the Duke had chosen for commencing the action, gave him a complete, and almost, on his side, a bloodless victory. Six thousand of

Alva
marches
against the
insurgents.

Victory of
the Spaniards.

¹ Leti, vol. iii. p. 230—252. Strada, vol. ii. p. 136—151. Bentiv. p. 56. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 388. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 69—71.

C H A P. the insurgents were left on the field, Louis
III. himself escaping with difficulty, by a timely
 1568. flight^m. The enormities and excesses committed by a regiment of Sardinians, who wantonly set fire to a considerable district of Friesland, in revenge for the loss of some of their companions; though instantly and rigorously punished by the Duke of Alva, yet augmented the general detestation borne to the Spaniards.ⁿ

Prince of
 Orange
 invades
 Flanders.

Having received a reinforcement of men and money, conducted by his son Frederic of Toledo, he lost not a moment in returning to protect the provinces of Brabant and Hainault, already menaced with an invasion by the Prince of Orange. Notwithstanding the vigilance and skill exerted by the Spanish general, William successively crossed both the Rhine and the Meuse; having by his boldness and address, in surmounting the difficulties of the passage across the latter river, extorted involuntary eulogiums from his adversary. No endeavours on the part of the Prince, could however induce Alva to hazard a general action, or impel him to commit the safety of the Netherlands, to the uncertain contingency of a battle. Superior to every insult, and on his guard against every stratagem, he waited the effect of time. Conscious on one hand, how odious the Spanish government was be-

^m Strada, vol. ii. p. 152—160. Bentiv. p. 58—60. Leti, v. iii. p. 253—256.

ⁿ Strada, vol. ii. p. 163—165.

come, and how readily the Flemings would embrace any occasion of testifying their sense of its severity; he was not less well informed, respecting the numerous sources of discontent and division existing in the army of William. Adhering therefore pertinaciously to his plan of avoiding an engagement, he contented himself with following the enemy, harassing and intercepting their parties, hovering on their rear, and frequently cutting to pieces exposed detachments. This able and cautious system was finally attended with complete success. The Prince of Orange, disappointed in his expectations of a general revolt throughout the Netherlands, frustrated in his attempt upon every fortified city which he approached, and destitute of means either to pay or to subsist his army, at an advanced season of the year; after exhausting his political and personal resources, abandoned the project. Retreating therefore into Germany, he disbanded the greater part of his forces, which were already considerably diminished by an unfortunate campaign, and reserved himself to renew the contest under more propitious circumstances.

He retreats
again into
Germany.

The Duke of Alva, thus victorious over the rebels, without bloodshed; and not less admirable for his caution when opposed to the Prince of Orange, than he had been for his promptitude and decision in attacking Louis of Nassau; having returned to Brussels, entered it in triumph. The hatred of the Flemings

CHAP. mings was overcome by their terrors: not a
 III. symptom of revolt appeared throughout the
 1568— Low Countries; and the despotism of Philip,
 1570. sustained by his veteran troops, established a
 profound, though a short and fallacious calm,
 in every part of the seventeen provinces.^o

Insurrec-
 tion of the
 Moors in
 Spain.

The attention of that prince was too much
 occupied, during this portion of his reign, by
 a rebellion within the kingdom of Spain itself,
 to permit of his visiting the Netherlands in
 person, even had his inclinations prompted
 him so to do, without manifest danger to the
 very existence of the Spanish monarchy.
 Severely as the tyranny of the Duke of Alva
 might be felt by the inhabitants of Flanders,
 his administration was light, when compared
 with the inhuman policy and acts of systematic
 oppression, exercised over the Moors of Gre-
 nada. This people, the remnant of those Ma-
 hommedan conquerors, who after subjecting
 the African coast quite to the shore of the
 Atlantic, had reigned for several ages, over
 the fairest provinces of Spain; since their re-
 duction by Ferdinand and Isabella, had exhi-
 bited few proofs of their antient valor. Charles
 had unquestionably governed them by very
 severe and intolerant laws; but under Philip,
 a system appears to have been formed, by
 heaping on them wanton indignities and con-
 tumely, to produce a general revolt, and
 thereby furnish a pretence for their total

^o Bentiv. p. 61—63. Strada, vol. ii. p. 166—180. Leti, vol. iii.
 p. 257—262.

dispersion and extermination. In consequence of this atrocious principle, every right of humanity was invaded, and every permission usually accorded even to slaves properly so denominated, was denied to, or taken from the Moors. Prohibitions, apparently dictated by capricious cruelty, which overturned their most sacred privileges; by violating at the same time their hereditary prejudices and customs, stimulated them to rebellion. They were not only disarmed, but by a new order of the government it was enjoined that they should instantly renounce their language, dress, and modes; conforming in every article of each, to those of Castile.

Though the immediate execution of such a law, was in itself to a certain degree impracticable on the part of the Moors, it was followed by other edicts, if possible still more cruel and humiliating in their nature. They were obliged to profess the Catholic religion, to practise all its ceremonies without reserve, and even to deliver up their children, in order that they might be educated in the Romish faith. Yet to these despotic acts of legislation, they tamely submitted. Their proper names were next taken from them; they being compelled, though not without manifesting symptoms of the utmost repugnance, to renounce their Moorish titles, and to assume universally, Spanish denominations. By a refinement in barbarity, worthy of Tiberius himself, Philip lastly commanded the abo-

CHAP.
III.

1568—

1570.

Tyrannical treatment of the Moors by Philip.

CHAP. lition of the practice of bathing, and the
 III. immediate demolition of all the public or
 1568— private baths throughout Grenada. They ven-
 3570. tured to remonstrate against the edict, not
 only as depriving them of a gratification
 equally salutary, as indispensable in a sultry
 climate; but, as being of a nature which
 could neither militate against the Catholic
 religion, nor against the duty and obedience
 due to the crown. Their entreaties were sup-
 ported by the Marquis of Mondejar, Captain
 General of the kingdom of Grenada, and by
 other great officers of state; but Philip, in-
 flexible, enjoined submission. Driven to de-
 spair by such intolerable persecution, the
 Moors resolved to resist, took up arms, elect-
 ed a sovereign from among themselves, and
 endeavoured to expel their tyrants.

Rebellion
 in Grenada.

During the progress of a struggle which they maintained against the whole power of the Spanish monarchy, for near two years, and in which unequal contest they displayed great resources; the utmost rage of military violence was exercised towards all the unfortunate Mahomedans who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. No quarter was given to those found in the places captured by assault, and even the most solemn capitulations made with them, were violated. Near twelve hundred women were massacred in one castle; and the enormities practised in the New World by Cortez and Pizarro, of which we peruse the descriptions with mingled incredulity and horror, were renewed in the unprovoked attack of a disarmed
 and

and innocent people. Though the Moors failed in an attempt to carry by surprise the city of Grenada, and though they were frequently vanquished in their engagements with the troops of Philip; yet, sustained by despair, animated with enthusiasm, and continually supplied with fresh troops from Algiers, or from the Mahometan states on the opposite coast of Africa, they made an obstinate resistance.

CHAP.
III.

1568—
1570.

They even loudly implored protection and support from Selim the Second, Emperor of the Turks; and sent a deputation to Constantinople, in order to represent to the Sultan, how much he was bound, by every motive religious and political, not to remain a passive spectator of their entire destruction. But Selim, though he neither wanted ambition, nor was destitute of enmity to Spain, yet declined engaging in their defence. If that Prince had taken a decisive part in their favour, as his predecessor Solyman would probably have done; Philip, embarrassed by the insurrection in the Netherlands, might have found reason to repent of his unprovoked attack on the Moors.

They demand succours of Selim the Second.

Even when abandoned by all foreign aid, and left to their own force, they rendered the final issue of the war, doubtful, sanguinary, and tedious. Their newly elected sovereign, who possessed courage and activity, made every effort for the emancipation of his subjects from so ignominious a yoke. In this state of affairs, Philip called into action the talents of his natural brother, Don John of Austria. His

Desperate resistance of the Moors.

CHAP. youth seemed to disqualify him for so arduous a
 III. commission, as he had scarcely attained his
 1568— twenty-third year; but the King nevertheless
 1570. named him to the supreme command against
 the rebels. The motives which actuated Philip
 in this selection, whether they originated in
 personal regard, or arose from profound jealousy
 and malignity, have exercised the curiosity of
 historians, and must remain problematical. It
 cannot be denied that the early indications of
 courage and ambition exhibited by Don John,
 which were calculated to alarm the suspicious
 mind of Philip; when connected with many
 subsequent circumstances, afford grounds for
 suspicion of the purity of Philip's intentions.
 Don John did not the less embrace with ardour,
 so glorious an occasion for the display of his
 talents; and after many desperate encounters
 with the Moors, in one of which he was routed,
 and narrowly escaped with his life, he had the
 good fortune successfully to terminate the war.
 The vanquished Mahometans, dispersed by the
 conqueror, throughout Castile, were reduced to
 the lowest degree of abject humiliation.^p

They are
 vanquish-
 ed by Don
 John of
 Austria.

Occupations of
 Philip.

While Flanders and Grenada thus exhibited
 at the opposite extremity of his dominions,
 a scene of oppression, violence, and depopula-
 tion; Philip, stationary in the centre of Spain,
 and rarely removing to any considerable dis-
 tance from Madrid, divided his time between

^p Turquet, p. 1138—1156. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 390—
 408. Leti, vol. iii. p. 280—291, and 366, 367, and 495. Desor-
 meaux, vol. iv. p. 60, 61, and p. 67, 68, and p. 71—74, and p. 80.

the

the fatigues of government, and the amuse-
ments of gallantry. Notwithstanding the ob-
stacles, and even the prohibitions which were
issued from the Vatican, by the sovereign pon-
tiff, he proceeded systematically to ascertain the
amount of the revenues possessed by the eccle-
siastical foundations of every kind, throughout
his vast territories. This enumeration, which
descended to every particular, embraced all de-
nominations of the clergy, secular, as well as
regular; and the magnitude of the aggregate
result, when submitted to him, is said to have
surpassed his belief. Not stopping here in his
enquiries, Philip caused researches of a similar
nature to be made, relative to the employ-
ments, military, civil, and judicial, either im-
mediately conferred by the crown, or in the
gift of his viceroys and governors. Such em-
ployments seemed peculiarly analogous to his
genius; of which, vigilance, application, and in-
spection, composed the leading characteristics:
but they display a mind formed for govern-
ment, and capable of embracing its most minute
details.^a

CHAP.
III.
1568—
1570.

Among such serious occupations of state, his
heart, which seemed to be little formed for the
impressions of tenderness, or capable of love,
became inflamed by the beauty and accomplish-
ments of Anne de Mendoza, Princess of Eboli,
wife to his favourite, Ruy Gomez de Sylva.
This passion, like almost every other pursuit or
emotion of Philip, produced eventually the

Gallantries
of Philip.

^a Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 78, 79. Leti, vol. iii. p. 436—438.

C H A P.

III.

1568—

1570.

most tragical consequences. The Princess, solicited to yield by her own husband, and who was, herself, not averse to gratify the wishes of her royal lover, interposed indeed scarcely any obstacles or delay to his desires. But Philip, who affected to mingle a degree of religion even in his vices, and who scrupled to seduce the wife of one of his subjects; though liberated from any restraint on his inclinations, by the convenient facility of Ruy Gomez, yet cautious, secret, and mysterious in his amour, confided to Antonio Perez, Secretary of state, his wishes and his irresolution. The minister, happy to render so delicate a service to his master, conducted with profound secrecy and silence, the Princess of Eboli, to the arms of Philip. She soon obtained over him, the greatest ascendancy; and the intrigue becoming public, caused no small scandal throughout every country of Europe. No act, indeed, could have appeared more incompatible with the gloomy devotion and austere piety, of which Philip loudly made profession, and which served him as a veil to conceal his projects of ambition, than a connexion of so criminal and indecent a nature. Perez himself, from being the confident, became afterwards the rival of his sovereign; but his success proved destructive to himself, and fatal to the Princess^r. Magnificence and taste occupied Philip's leisure, not less than gallantry. Besides the continuation

^r Leti, vol. iii. p. 416—431. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 30.

of the Escorial, on which edifice immense sums were expended, he constructed the palace of the Pardo, in the vicinity of Madrid, which he adorned with costly monuments of art; raised the castle of Segovia; built the aqueduct of Toledo; and completed many other structures of general utility or convenience, in different provinces of Spain.^s

CH A P.
III.

1568—
1570.

If the Duke of Alva had used with moderation, and improved by clemency, the victory which his arms had obtained over the Prince of Orange; it is unquestionable that the Netherlands might have been preserved entire to Philip, notwithstanding the past severities exercised in his name, and under his authority. But the presumption of the Spanish general, augmented by prosperity, disdained all limits; and he regarded the Flemings as a vanquished people, already accustomed to despotism. Not content with having enslaved, he proceeded to insult them, by the construction of a statue, which was placed in the citadel of Antwerp; where he himself was represented in the act of trampling under his feet, the liberties of the Flemish nobility and people. Even his master was displeased at so injudicious and indecorous a display of arrogance, in which the merits of the general were more conspicuously exhibited, than those of the King^t. After a long and impolitic delay, the Duke of Alva at length

Violence of
the Duke
of Alva, in
Flanders.

^s Leti, vol. iii. p. 496—498.

^t Strada, vol. ii. p. 181—185. Bentivog. p. 68, 69. Leti, vol. iii. p. 367—370.

promul-

C H A P. promulgated with ostentatious solemnity, the
 III. amnesty of all past offences committed against
 1568— the crown of Spain, since the origin of the
 1570. troubles in the Netherlands. This boasted act
 Amnesty of oblivion contained nevertheless so many ex-
 published ceptions, and the channel through which par-
 by com- don was dispensed, had itself become so uni-
 mand of versally odious or suspected, that it produced
 Philip. no effect or benefit. The season of reconcilia-
 tion and obedience was past, though the time
 of revenge had not yet arrived. "

Meanwhile, the Duke, apprehensive of fur-
 ther commotions, ardently solicited his recal.
 Philip refused him permission to quit the Ne-
 therlands; but, conscious how detestable to
 his Flemish subjects, and how injurious to his
 own interests, the continuance of Alva's admi-
 nistration must prove, he meditated sending a
 new governor to Brussels. Unfortunately, the
 same procrastination and irresolution which at-
 tended almost all the measures of Philip, by
 postponing the execution of his design, com-
 pleted the destruction of the Spanish power in
 the Low Countries^x. The necessities of the
 Duke, which were augmented by the arrears
 due to his troops; when added to the seizure
 of a sum of money destined for that purpose, by
 Elizabeth, Queen of England, which was on its
 passage by sea, from Italy to Flanders; impelled
 him to commit exactions, and to issue edicts,
 so oppressive or intolerable, that when remon-

New op-
 pressions of
 Alva.

^u Strada, vol. ii. p. 194—196.

^x Ibid. vol. ii. p. 197, 198.

strance

strance and supplication were found to be vain, a general resistance took place. He demanded the tenth upon moveables of every kind, as often as they should be sold; the twentieth upon immoveables; and the hundredth, upon all commodities without exception. The clamours of the Flemings, heightened by the damage which an inundation of the sea had caused in the Province of Friesland, retarded, without preventing the collection of these taxes. A revolt succeeded; and the insurrection which all the cruelties of Alva had not excited, was instantly produced by his attack upon personal property. A party of desperate insurgents, headed by the Count de la Marck, who infested the coasts of Flanders; and whom Elizabeth had compelled to quit the English ports, in consequence of applications from the Ambassador of Philip, at her court; landing in Zealand, surprized the maritime town of the Briel. Their unexpected success became the signal of an universal rebellion, which no exertions of valour or ability on the part of the Spanish commander, was ever able to subdue.

C H A P.

III.

1568—

1570.

Universal
revolt in
the Low
Countries.

So general was the disaffection, and such the detestation of Philip, that almost every place of consequence throughout the northern provinces of Holland and Zealand, instantly declared for the Prince of Orange, expelled their garrisons, and renounced all allegiance or subjection to Spain. The town of Amsterdam

1571.

† Bentivog. p. 69—72. Strada, vol. ii. p. 201—208.

remained

CH A P. remained nearly alone in its allegiance. The Duke of Alva, who was ready to enforce by military execution, the pecuniary impositions recently published; suspending his resentment, prepared to extinguish the rebellion, while yet in its infancy. But, before he could interpose with effect, new commotions engaged his attention. Count Bergues, one of the insurgent chiefs, entering Guelderland, made a rapid progress, as well as in the adjoining provinces of Zutphen and Overysse. An event still more alarming, the surprize of the city of Mons, capital of Hainault, by Louis of Nassau, who was aided in the enterprize, by a body of French Hugonots, demanded his immediate presence. In this embarrassed situation of affairs, Philip's general betrayed no symptoms of irresolution or of apprehension. Esteeming the French invasion as infinitely most formidable, on account of the apparent prevalence which Coligni and his adherents had obtained in the counsels of Charles the Ninth; he bent his instant efforts to that quarter, and detached his son Frederic to form the siege of Mons: while he left the suppression of a revolt in the other provinces, to a more favourable juncture. The Baron de Genlis, who conducted some troops to the aid of the besieged, was defeated by the Spaniards, taken prisoner, and Mons closely invested on every side. In order therefore to succour his friends, who were already reduced to extremity, the Prince of Orange, at the head of a formidable army, crossing the Rhine,

III.
1571.

Progress of
the insur-
gents.

Conduct of
Alva.

Prince of
Orange
again in-
vades Flan-
ders.

Rhine, entered Flanders a second time. He was every where received with joy by the Flemings. Louvain ransomed itself from pillage, while Mechlin opened its gates to him, and many inferior places imitated the example; but Brussels continued firm in its obedience. The Prince advancing towards Mons, appeared in sight of the Spanish lines, and attempted to compel the Duke of Alva to risk an action; but that able general, strongly entrenched, defied his utmost endeavours, and only pressed more vigorously the siege. ²

CHAP.
III.
1571.

Such was the critical position of the two commanders, when the demonstrations of joy exhibited in the camp of the Duke, which were occasioned by his reception of the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, communicated the melancholy intelligence to the Prince of Orange. Conscious of the disastrous consequences necessarily resulting from such an event, as well as of its effect upon the minds of his troops; William, after again vainly exerting every effort to force the enemy to a battle, determined, as his last expedient, on retreat. No hopes of any assistance from France remained, Coligni and his friends having perished in the carnage, and Charles the Ninth being now their most implacable foe. Having therefore signified to his brother Louis, the necessity of renouncing his present enterprise, the Prince marched back to Mechlin;

He is compelled to retire to Delft.

² Bentivog. p. 74—82. Strada, vol. ii. p. 211—218.

harassed

CHAP. III. harassed and pursued by a party of the enemy, who after beating up his quarters, penetrated even to his tent, where they had nearly killed, or made him prisoner. Retiring to Delft, he there waited for a more propitious moment to renew the war; while Louis entertaining no longer any expectation of succours, surrendered Mons by capitulation, and withdrew anew into Germany. The Duke of Alva dishonoured and sullied his success, by the acts of violence which he committed, and the pillage to which he abandoned the cities known to be in the interest of the Prince of Orange. Mechlin, exposed during three days, to all the excesses of a ferocious and insolent soldiery, underwent the severest extremities of military fury: but though every part of Flanders submitted from necessity to the Spanish yoke, yet the abhorrence excited by such oppressions, prepared the inhabitants for fresh commotions.^a

Turkish
war.

A more honourable triumph, and a more beneficial victory, if it had been wisely improved, attended the arms of Philip at this time, in another quarter of Europe. In its acquisition, as in almost every other brilliant atchievement of the early part of his reign, Don John of Austria was eminently distinguished: and the lustre of the action received in the present instance a considerable augmentation, from the consideration that the advantage was not confined to a single kingdom,

^a Strada, vol. ii. p. 219—223.

but

but must prove useful to all the Christian states. C H A P.
 The Turks, though less formidable than under III.
 the reign of Solyman, had nevertheless re- 1571.
 cently attacked, and rapidly subjected the
 island of Cyprus, one of the most valuable
 foreign possessions of the Venetian republic.
 The barbarities committed by their troops, and
 sanctioned by their commanders, subsequent
 to the capture of Famagosta and Nicosia, the
 two principal cities; while they excited gene-
 ral indignation, loudly demanded vengeance.
 In order to retrieve the honour of the allied
 powers, and to stop the alarming progress of
 Selim; Pius the Fifth, and the Venetians, who
 had previously formed a league for their com-
 mon defence, in conjunction with Philip, ex-
 erted the greatest efforts to equip a formidable
 fleet. After many delays, accompanied by va-
 rious obstacles, the armament was finally ac-
 complished; and the supreme command being
 delegated to the King of Spain, he named to
 the employment, Don John of Austria. That
 Prince, assembling the combined forces at Na-
 ples, sailed from Messina in Sicily, at the head
 of above two hundred gallies, with a view to
 seek the enemy. He found them near the
 entrance of the gulph of Lepanto, on the coast
 of Greece; not far from the shores rendered
 memorable in antiquity, by Augustus's victory
 over Mark Antony; and he did not hesitate to
 give them battle, in defiance of the remon-
 strances of Requesens, Commander of Castile,
 whom the King of Spain had sent to moderate

Christian
 fleet, under
 Don John,
 set sail.

Victory of
 Lepanto.

CHAP. his ardour. Few naval victories, without even
 III. excepting those obtained by England over the
 1571. fleets of France, in the course of the last twenty
 years, were ever more complete. The Ottoman
 admiral, Ali Bacha, perished in the engage-
 ment, as Bruys did in the battle of the Nile:
 his ship was taken; and above one hun-
 dred gallies fell into the hands of the con-
 querors. Ulucciali, the second in command,
 who distinguished himself in the action, having
 effected his retreat, saved thirty gallies from
 the general destruction; with which force he
 reached Constantinople, and brought the first
 account of the disaster. That capital, which
 was thrown into the utmost consternation;
 would have been incapable of sustaining a
 prompt and vigorous attack. The residence
 of the Byzantine Cæsars, which Mahomet the
 Second had captured in the fifteenth century,
 scarcely one hundred and twenty years before,
 might have been recovered by a natural son of
 Charles the Fifth.^b

Inactivity
 of the al-
 lies.

But, the irresolution and inaction of the al-
 lied powers, after so signal a success, were as
 conspicuous as their courage and conduct had
 been in its atchievement. It is asserted that
 Don John, with the decision and energy of
 mind which characterized him, exhorted his
 colleagues to pursue the flying enemy; and to
 present themselves, while the terror excited

^b Leti, vol. iii. p. 445—490, and p. 503—560. Turquet, p. 1157—1170.

among the Turks had not yet subsided, before the passage of the Dardanelles, where they would find no impediment to arrest their progress. It may be matter of curious speculation, though it does not form a subject of strict historical enquiry, to consider what consequences might have resulted to Europe, from so magnanimous and bold a measure, had it been immediately carried into execution. When we reflect that the victorious fleet could have reached the Bosphorus in a few days, the Ottoman empire, it is probable, might have received a deep, as well as a lasting wound; and the rapidity of their conquests, particularly in Hungary, Greece, and the Morea, must have been retarded, if not completely prevented, by the recapture of Constantinople.

Far from improving the advantage obtained at Lepanto, the allies separated almost instantly, as coalitions have done in every age, without effecting any object beneficial to the common cause. Ostentatious triumphs, and pompous exhibitions of joy, occupied the various powers, who lost meanwhile the occasion of humbling the Turks. Philip received the intelligence of the victory, with that unconquerable phlegm and apparent tranquillity of temper, which he affected equally to preserve in prosperous or in adverse fortune. He did not even hesitate to express some doubts of Don John's prudence, in having exposed to the hazard of war, the great interests committed to his charge; betraying visibly in these censures,

CHAP. the jealousy as well as suspicion, with which
 III. he was actuated towards his brother.^c

1572.
 Continuation of the
 war.

The ensuing campaign, instead of offering any brilliant success, produced no event of moment; and the League had already lost its strongest support, as well as its firmest bond of connection, by the death of Pius the Fifth. His successor in the chair of St. Peter, Gregory the Thirteenth, was indeed well affected to the cause; but he wanted the active zeal and energies of the deceased pontiff. Though Don John was continued in the station of Generalissimo, yet the King his brother long refused him permission to assume the command in person: and when, at an advanced season of the year, orders from Madrid at length authorized him to join the Papal and Venetian fleets, the favourable time for action had elapsed. Ulucciali, raised to the dignity of Captain Bacha after the death of Ali, instructed by the experience of the preceding campaign, avoided any general engagement, and amused the allies by skirmishes, which could produce no decisive effect. The Duke of Sessa, who by Philip's direction accompanied Don John, pertinaciously opposed every hazardous enterprize. An ineffectual Cannonade between the two squadrons, took place on the coast of the Morea; after which the

^c Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 411—413. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 84—86.

Turkish

Turkish commander retired for protection under the cannon of Modon. But, the allies, without waiting to avail themselves of his distressed situation, soon separated, and allowed Ulucciali to conduct the fleet of Selim back in safety to Constantinople.

CHAP.
III.

1572.

The Venetians, unable to support so expensive a war, and disgusted with the ambiguous or indecisive conduct of the King of Spain; after withdrawing from the alliance, concluded a peace with the Porte, in the course of the following year. Don John, to whom the Christian inhabitants of Albania, Macedonia, and Greece, impressed with admiration at his great endowments and military renown, had sent a deputation, to offer him the sovereignty of those fertile countries, so celebrated in the annals of classic antiquity; was compelled by the jealousy of Philip, to renounce this advantageous proposal. We may form some judgment, by considering the long and successful resistance which Scanderbeg, though only Prince of the little province of Epirus, made against the Turkish Sultans, in the preceding century; what a barrier to their further progress westward, might have been opposed, by such a Prince as Don John of Austria, if he could have been permanently stationed on the Lower Danube, or in any part of Greece. But, Philip wanted equally the magnanimity, and the inclination, to elevate his brother, whom he dreaded, and whose ambition he

Venice
withdraws
from the
confederacy.

1572.

CHAPTER. studiously repressed at every period of his
 III. reign.^d

1573.

Capture of
 Tunis by
 Don John.

That monarch, though now left to his own resources, and destitute of any ally by the secession of the Venetians, nevertheless determined to prosecute the war, and to carry his arms into Africa, as his father had done at an earlier period of the same century. The recovery of Tunis, which had recently fallen again into the possession of the Turks, formed his first object; and the expedition being committed to Don John, he embarked at Trapani in Sicily, from whence he landed on the coast of Barbary, at the head of a powerful fleet, after a short and favourable passage. Tunis being abandoned by the Turks with precipitation on his approach, he took possession of the city, as well as of the neighbouring town of Biserta, almost without any opposition. In order to secure his new acquisition, he constructed a fort, which being situated between Tunis and the fortress of the Goletta, might thereby give additional strength, or extend continual assistance, to both garrisons. Having first placed in the government a Moorish prince, with the title of viceroy; and having subsequently provided for the protection of the conquered country, by leaving behind him a numerous body of Spanish troops, he returned in triumph to Naples.

^d Turquet, p. 1171, 1172. Leti, vol. iv. p. 4, 5, and p. 36—54. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 414—417. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 86, 87.

The rapidity and brilliancy of the enterprize, which was so naturally compared with the expedition undertaken by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, to the same place, thirty-eight years before; increased the popularity, and elevated the reputation of Don John of Austria. But Philip, whose distrust augmented in proportion with his brother's success, complained that his orders and intentions had been disobeyed, by the construction of the fort, as well as by the preservation of Tunis, which he had commanded to be dismantled and destroyed. His dislike was strengthened, by the display of ambition which Don John made, in requesting to be allowed to assume the title of *King* of Tunis: a demand which, though strenuously supported by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth; and which, if rendered effective, might have proved highly beneficial to the interests of Spain, was rejected by the King, with indignation. Here again we are irresistibly led to speculate on the consequences to civilization which might have ensued, if a Prince of the blood of Austria had reigned in the country inhabited once by the Carthaginians, from whence Hannibal issued, who shook the Roman republic to its foundations. Instead of a piratical horde of lawless barbarians, as Tunis now is, that city might have presented in the nineteenth century, a capital adorned with arts, and not unworthy to succeed the antient rival of Rome, who so long contended for the empire of the world. The very position of

CHAP. Tunis, in the centre of the coast of Barbary,
 III. nearly equi-distant from the Levant, and from
 1573. the Atlantic; in a climate highly favoured by
 nature, and commanding all the resources of
 Africa, quite to the Gambia and the Niger;
 seems formed in itself for commerce, no less
 than for dominion. But, these expanded views
 never animated the gloomy policy of Philip,
 active only to purposes of destruction, aiming
 alternately at the subjugation of every sur-
 rounding state, and cementing throughout Eu-
 rope the chains of despotism or of supersti-
 tion.*

1574.
 Tunis, and
 the Golet-
 ta, retaken
 by the
 Turks.

The acquisition of the kingdom of Tunis,
 though every precaution was taken by Don
 John for its security, became even eventually
 a source of mortification and disgrace to the
 arms of Spain. In the following year, the
 city returned under the Mahometan yoke; the
 Bashaw Sinan and Ulucciali having united
 under their command a formidable force,
 which undertook and atchieved its reduction,
 before any assistance could be sent from Philip
 to its relief. The city of Tunis was hastily
 evacuated on the first approach of the enemy;
 and the Goletta being vigorously attacked,
 was carried by storm, notwithstanding all the
 efforts of Porto Carrero, the Spanish governor,
 for its preservation. Encouraged by so pros-
 perous a commencement, the Turks without
 loss of time, turned their efforts against the

* Turquet, p. 1173, 1174. Leti, vol. iv. p. 55—58. Abregé
 Chron. vol. ii. p. 417, 418.

newly constructed fort, in which Serbelloné commanded. That officer sustained with great intrepidity, the assaults of a superior and indefatigable enemy; but his garrison, already considerably diminished, soon became unequal to prolong the contest. Sinan entering the fort by storm, put to the sword all those whom he did not reserve for slavery. Serbelloné and Porto Carrero were unhappily among the latter number; and after being compelled to assist in the demolition of the Spanish fortifications, they were chained to the oar, and conducted by their barbarous conquerors, to Constantinople.

C H A P.
III.
1574.

Such was the premature fate of the kingdom of Tunis; an event which affected deeply the honour of the King of Spain, while it diminished his consideration in the eyes of all the European powers. Don John, though detained by contrary winds in the ports of Sicily, yet does not appear to have totally escaped some degree of public censure, on account of its loss. The choice of the two commanders who were left in charge of the African forts, was generally arraigned; and it was commonly supposed, that greater expedition might have been exerted for the relief of Tunis. A circumstance peculiarly memorable is, that a body of four thousand Jews, who had been expelled, in common with the Moors, by the intolerance of Philip, from the kingdom of Grenada, embarked under the Bashaw Sinan, on this expedition. Their national inaptitude and aversion to war, which

CH A P.

III.

1574.

Progress,
and cru-
elties of
the Spa-
niards in
Holland.

so strongly characterize them as a people, were surmounted in this instance, by their antipathy to the crown of Spain; and they took a severe revenge on their native sovereign, for having thus compelled them to bear arms against their country. It forms the only instance recorded in modern history, of a similar nature.^f

These disasters which befel Philip in the Mediterranean, were not compensated by any beneficial acquisitions of his arms in the Low-Countries. The Prince of Orange, though compelled to evacuate Flanders, sustained himself nevertheless in the northern provinces, where he derived resources from the abuse which his enemies made of their victories: while the Duke of Alva, abandoning the inhabitants to the rage of his son Frederic, carried his barbarities to the utmost length of military fury. Zutphen being taken, was sacked by the soldiery; and at Naarden in Holland, a massacre of every individual of both sexes, and of every age, took place. The city was burnt, and the walls razed to the ground; but atrocities so revolting, far from inspiring terror, tended to produce the contrary effect, by animating the people to defend themselves to the last extremity.

During the siege of Haërlem, which was continued for eight successive months, the acts of wanton and inhuman outrage continually

^f Leti, vol. iv. p. 87—98. Turquet, p. 1174—1176. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 94.

committed by the Spaniards, produced retaliation on the part of the besieged, equally repugnant to humanity. All the limits which policy and civilization have affixed in the present century, to the horrors of war, were mutually violated. Frederic despairing of success, and ready more than once to raise the siege, was only prevented by his father's reproaches, from carrying his design into execution. The inhabitants, after sustaining the most severe extremities with undaunted resolution, at length surrendered at discretion; and the garrison, reduced from four thousand, to sixteen hundred, was treated by the victor with the same relentless cruelty which he had exhibited on similar occasions. Nine hundred actually perished in the Spanish camp, by the hand of the executioner; and their lamentable fate completed the detestation universally entertained throughout the Low Countries, towards that sovereign and nation.

C H A P.
III.

1574.

Surrender
of Haär-
lem.

The capture of Haärlem itself was dearly purchased on the part of the conquerors, who lost under its walls, not only a considerable number of soldiers, but likewise many of their most able and experienced officers. It constituted the boundary of the Duke of Alva's success; his son Frederic being soon afterwards repulsed before the town of Alcmaer, and reduced to retire with disgrace. Symptoms of mutiny even began to appear among the Spaniards; and the unconquerable spirit of the Dutch became still more confirmed by a signal

C H A P. signal victory obtained at sea, in which their
 III. fleets, after an obstinate resistance, captured
 1574. the admiral's ship, together with the Count of
 Bossu himself, her commander. Some in-
 considerable acquisitions made by the Spanish
 troops, in the province of Holland, faintly
 balanced these important losses.*

Arrival of
 Requesens
 to succeed
 Alva.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Re-
 quesens arriving from Milan, with a commis-
 sion to supersede the Duke of Alva, as go-
 vernor-general of the Netherlands, assumed the
 administration. The latter returning to Brus-
 sels, immediately quitted a country, where his
 name was held in universal execration; and
 which, having found loyal and peaceable at his
 entrance, he had driven into rebellion, by a
 series of the most impolitic and systematic
 oppression^h. His successor, who was emi-
 nently distinguished by the humanity of his
 character, as well as by the talents of a states-
 man, had displayed equal military capacity in
 the command of armies. But, no combina-
 tion of mental endowments, nor even acts
 of clemency and conciliation, could repair the
 injury committed by Philip's preceding tyran-
 ny, or restore obedience. The provinces of
 Holland and Zealand in particular, enriched
 by the spoils of the Spaniards, began already
 to feel their own strength; nor could the

* Strada, vol. ii. p. 223—234. Bentiv. liv. vii. p. 89—101.

^h Leti, vol. iv. p. 59—63.

Prince of Orange be persuaded to repose any confidence on the forgiveness of Philip, and again renounce his independence, which he had purchased with such toil and bloodshed.

C. H. A. P.
III.
1574.

It was in vain therefore that Requesens, by offers of oblivion for all past offencees, and by the popular act of demolishing the statue of the Duke of Alva, erected in the citadel of Antwerp, which had justly excited such general indignation; endeavoured to awaken the allegiance, or to recover the affections of the people newly committed to his care. Every overture on his part was rejected by them with disdain; and the letters of the new governor, which were addressed to the Zealanders, couched in terms the most calculated to produce an effect, proved completely unsuccessful in operating any change.

Ineffectual
efforts of
Requesens,
to restore
tranquil-
lity.

Finding the attainment of peace impracticable upon terms honourable to the crown of Spain, Requesens made therefore the most vigorous exertions, in order to reduce the rebels by force of arms. But, fortune was unfavourable to the execution of his designs; and a numerous squadron which sailed from the Schelde to the relief of Middleburg, being surrounded by the enemy, was defeated. The Spanish vessels were all either burnt, driven on shore, or captured; while Requesens himself became a spectator of the disaster, from an eminence situated near Bergen-op-zoom. The surrender of Middleburg to the Dutch by capitulation, speedily

Continua-
tion of
the war.

CHAP. speedily followed the defeat of the naval armament sent for its support.¹

III.
1574.

Defeat of
Louis,
Count of
Nassau.

While the Prince of Orange, by so important a victory, thus laid the foundations of his own elevation, and those of the infant republic of Holland, his affairs sustained a severe reverse in another quarter. Louis, Count of Nassau, and Henry, a younger brother of the same illustrious house, aided by Christopher, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, entering Guelderland, conducted to his aid an army of Germans. But, before they could effect any object of importance, Sancho d'Avila, one of the most renowned Spanish commanders of the age, attacked and routed them, near the city of Nimeguen. It presents a singular fact, that the three princes perished in the action; though by what species of death remains uncertain, their bodies having never been found. All the cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with a prodigious plunder.

Mutiny of
the Spanish
troops.

The effect of so signal a success, which might have been rendered very beneficial, if not decisive to the arms of Philip, was nevertheless lost by the mutiny and sedition of the victorious soldiery. Irritated at the continual delay in paying them their arrears, tired with ineffectual expostulations, and arrogant from their late triumph, they disclaimed any further appeal except to the sword.

¹ Bentiv. p. 102—104. Strada, vol. ii. p. 243—248.

Renouncing all subjection to their commander, and refusing to listen to the offers of Requesens, they marched in a considerable body to Antwerp, which city they entered without resistance. Yet, in the midst of their contempt of subordination and military obedience, they preserved, and severely enforced, private discipline among themselves. The city was protected from pillage; and the Spanish governor of the Low Countries, conscious that their demands were essentially just, having found means to satisfy them, published a general pardon. Returning to their duty, they were sent to the siege of Leyden: while Requesens again caused an amnesty of all past offences to be publicly read, in the name of his sovereign; though with as little beneficial effect as resulted from the act of oblivion formerly offered to the Flemings, by the Duke of Alva.^k

After having surveyed the state of the Low Countries, during the summer of the year 1574, it still remains that we should take a general, but a succinct view of the Spanish monarchy itself, as it then existed, in order to form a clear estimate of its magnitude, strength, and resources. When we consider the number of kingdoms and provinces which composed it, situated in the most fertile and commercial parts of Europe, subjected under one head; the terror which such extensive

C H A P.
III.
1574.

State of
the Spā-
nish mo-
narchy, at
this period.

^k Turquet, p. 1575. Bentivog. p. 104—110. Strada, vol. ii. p. 249—260. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 95, 96. Leti, vol. iv. p. 98—107.

C H A P. dominions excited among all the surrounding
 III. states, ought not to affect us with surprize.

1574.

If indeed, the ambition and talents of Philip had been allowed to act, unbiassed by the intolerance and bigotry of his character, it seems difficult to judge what limits could have been affixed to his power and his enterprises: since, labouring under these impediments, and having a continual war to maintain for so many years, against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, he nevertheless conquered Portugal, and had nearly atchieved the reduction of both France and England.

Power and
 dominions
 of Philip.

Italy, from the foot of the Alps, to the extremity of Calabria, was virtually in his possession. Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, and Placentia, constituted part of his hereditary, or of his acquired dominions. The patrimony of St. Peter, together with the dignity of the Holy See, were protected by, and dependant on Spain. Tuscany had been in a great degree voluntarily conferred by his father the Emperor Charles, upon Cosmo of Medicis; and Philip still continued actually to retain the principal ports of the Grand-duchy in his own hands. Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, might be esteemed his vassal; and Genoa owned him for her Protector. Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who was indebted to his powerful interposition, for the restoration of all his patrimonial territories, looked to Spain for their preservation against the attacks of France. Even Venice trem-
 bled

bled at the enormous influence and proximity of so dangerous a neighbour, whose dominions and fleets surrounded her on every side.

CHAP.
III.
1574.

The German branch of the house of Austria, constantly subservient to the policy and views of the cabinet of Madrid, which it aided and sustained on every occasion, could only be considered as a portion of the Spanish monarchy: while the treasures of the New World, regularly transmitted to Philip, enabled him to equip fleets, or to maintain armies, far superior to those which the comparatively slender resources of any other contemporary prince, could support. He had in fact at one time, near a hundred thousand men in the field, and a hundred and fifty gallies at sea¹. Louis the Fourteenth, in the seventeenth century, it is true, made far greater exertions; as Bonaparte has done in our own times, at least on the land. But, the King of Spain alone, before 1570, had exhibited the example of so vast a naval and military force. His revenues in 1569, did not fall short of twenty-five millions of Ducats, or above eleven millions sterling, as we are assured from good authority; a sum not only of incredible magnitude in that age, but surpassing the aggregate amount arising from the revenues of all the other European sovereigns.^m

Military
and naval
forces.

Revenues.

¹ Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 79.

^m Ibid. p. 79.

C H A P.

III.

1574.

Royal
power.Patronage
of the
crown.

The power of the crown, augmented and confirmed by the two preceding reigns of Ferdinand the Catholic, and Charles the Fifth, who were, both, princes of uncommon ability as well as vigour; had in a great measure extinguished the liberties of the subject in every part of the Spanish dependencies, except throughout the Low Countries. In Naples, Sicily, and Milan, the orders of Philip were as implicitly obeyed, as in the kingdom of Castile. Of all the provinces of the Spanish peninsula subjected to his controul, Aragon alone continued to preserve some traces of its antient freedom. The prodigious influence necessarily resulting from such unlimited authority, may be in some measure appreciated by the patronage which was immediately vested in the King. However incredible the fact may appear, it is not the less true, that Philip in his own person named and appointed eighty-three thousand officers, civil, military, criminal, and of finance, in the different provinces of Europe, Asia, and America. Neither Augustus, nor Trajan, probably enjoyed a more extensive power of conferring benefits. Three hundred and sixty-seven thousand inferior, or subaltern employments, were distributed by the viceroys, chancellors, and governors, throughout his vast dominions. To these offices, we must likewise add the ecclesiastical preferments; amounting to fifty-eight archbishoprics, six hundred and eighty-four bishoprics, besides eleven thousand, four hundred

dred abbeysⁿ. So prolific a source of honours and emoluments had never been concentrated in one prince, since the extinction of the Roman empire: and when it is considered that Philip, to a restless and insatiable ambition, joined so many qualities fitted to give energy and activity to that passion, it is evident that Europe never seemed to be so near falling under the authority of a single man, as at the period under our review. Napoleon, however terrific his power may have appeared to us, wanted many of the qualities requisite to confer stability, and to perpetuate the duration of his acquisitions, which were to be found in the person and government of Philip the Second.

CHAP.
III.
1574.
Causes of
the decline
of Spain.

Causes and circumstances however of various kinds, either obvious or latent, contributed to diminish the disproportionate greatness of the Spanish monarchy, and insensibly to reduce it nearer to a level with the surrounding states. Philip's grandeur, more apparent and ostensible than real, was unwieldy, disjointed, and subject to the inconveniencies, necessarily attached to the distance and separation of its component parts. The population of Spain, which bore no proportion to its size, was annually diminishing by the perpetual emigrations to America, as well as by the effects of religious persecution. It is unquestionable that the inhabitants, who were estimated under Ferdinand the Catholic, at near twenty

ⁿ Leti, vol. iii. p. 436—438. Desormeaux. *ibid.* p. 78, 79.

CH A P. millions, had diminished above a third part
 III. since his decease, in the lapse of scarcely sixty
 1545. years; and the whole European territories of Philip were not supposed to contain in 1570, above that number°. Agriculture was every where neglected, manufactures rapidly declined, and the internal sources of vigour were drying up; while a fallacious prosperity and wealth, caused by the annual arrival of the Flotas and Galleons from the New World, spread a delusive lustre, and concealed the decay of the exhausted monarchy. Even the Spaniards who returned from Peru and Mexico, importing into the mother country, the vices to which they had been habituated on the shores of the Pacific Ocean; tended by their luxury to extinguish the virtues of frugality, industry, and simplicity of manners, in their native soil.

Numbers,
and celi-
bacy of
the eccle-
siastics.

The number, and the celibacy of the clergy, constituted likewise no inconsiderable cause of the depopulation of Spain. It appeared, from the result of the inquest made by Philip in 1569, that throughout the whole extent of his dominions, there existed not less than three hundred and twelve thousand priests; two hundred thousand clerks, ministering in the subordinate ecclesiastical offices; and above four hundred thousand of the monastic orders of both sexes^p. Their revenues, which were proportionately ample, amounted to the prodigious

° Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 78. Abregé Chronol. vol. ii. p. 324.

^p Ibid. Leti, vol. iii. p. 437.

gious sum of two millions sterling^a. The imposition of a tenth, which aid Pope Pius the Fourth, in 1561 permitted the King to levy on the property of the clergy during five years, was estimated at fifty thousand Ducats a-year, exclusively for the kingdom of Spain^r. The cruel and unprovoked hostilities, commenced and prosecuted against the Moors of Grenada, which originated in a spirit of savage intolerance, rather than in views of national policy; had not only deprived the kingdom of an industrious and laborious race of men, but had transformed them from submissive subjects, into open or concealed enemies.

Immense sums were annually expended by the King of Spain, in the necessary protection of his coasts, against the depredations of the Turks, Algerines, Tunisians, and other African Corsairs. Dragut and Ulucciali became successively the scourge of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Balearic islands, and the whole Mediterranean. Notwithstanding the signal victory of Lepanto, and the repulse which the Ottoman arms sustained before Malta in 1565; as well as some gallant exploits performed by various Spanish commanders, at different times, against these enemies of the Christian name; Philip proved on the whole very unsuccessful in his enterprizes to stop their progress. The Bashaw Piali, in 1558, carried off fifteen hun-

Depredations of the Turks.

^a Leti, vol. iii. p. 437, 438.

^r Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 38. Above twenty thousand pounds sterling.

CHAP. III. }
 1574. } dred captives from Sorrento in the vicinity of Naples, and ravaged the little island of Procida. Sailing thence to Minorca, he put the garrison of Port Mahon to the sword, and destroyed the place itself by fire^s. Three years afterwards, Dragut landed both in Sicily and in Calabria; from which unfortunate provinces he bore away six thousand persons of both sexes, together with a spoil amounting in value to above two millions of French crowns^t. Constantinople was crowded with Spanish prisoners, captured in the defeats sustained at the island of Gerbes, in the fort of the Goletta, and at Tunis; many of whom were persons of the highest condition. The Abruzzo, and all the eastern coast of the kingdom of Naples, extending along the shore of the Adriatic, was again desolated and plundered by the Turks in 1566; notwithstanding the exertions of Don Garcia de Toledo, then viceroy of Sicily, who had under his command a fleet of no less than eighty-five gallees^u. It became indispensable to remain constantly on the watch against these invaders, who continued to infest the shores of Italy, and even the coasts of Spain. Don John of Austria, in 1568, joined his naval forces to those of the Pope and of Florence, for their common defence against the lieutenants of Selim the Second.

^s Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 340.

^t Ibid. vol. ii. p. 357. About two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

^u Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 376, 377. Leti, vol. iii. p. 89—92.

The numerous garrisons maintained by Philip on the coast of Barbary, which demanded continual supplies of men and money, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Moors, formed another drain upon his revenues. Such was his ardent zeal for the extirpation of heresy, as to impel him on sending his troops, and expending his treasures, in enabling Charles the Ninth to vanquish the Hugonots; though at the same time, his own Flemish provinces were engaged in actual rebellion, and his soldiers were ready to mutiny for want of their arrears. He lavished besides, enormous sums on monasteries, palaces, and public edifices. The *Escorial* alone cost five millions of pounds sterling^x; the convent of the Jesuits, constructed by his order at Cusco in Peru, two hundred thousand crowns; and that of the barefooted Carmelites at Madrid, nearly as much money. His benefactions for other religious purposes, and in particular his donations to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, exceed any calculation^y. The united effect of all these causes was notwithstanding inferior to the revolt, and civil wars in the Netherlands, towards producing the destruction of the Spanish greatness. In that abyss were principally swallowed up the forces and revenues of Philip the Second. In 1574, we find that he had already contracted an immense public debt, amounting to near

C H A P.
III.1574.
Vast sums
expended
by Philip.Public debt
contracted.^x Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 43.^y Leti, vol. iv. p. 75—80.

CHAP. seventeen millions sterling, upon which he paid

III. the prodigious rate of twenty-one *per cent.*
1574. interest. In order to relieve the crown from

Severe
taxes and
exactions.

so oppressive a burden, he in the following year discharged the capital, but deprived his creditors of the interest; and this species of fraudulent bankruptcy proved fatal to his credit.^z We may judge how great must have been the pecuniary embarrassments of Philip, by the fact of his exacting from his Spanish subjects in 1574, the tenth of all goods or property of every description. Such a tax necessarily produced some murmurs, notwithstanding the profound submission established throughout the kingdom, and the extinction among the people, of the last spark of freedom. A gentleman of St. Maria del Campo, named Presillas, who ventured to express his indignation at the exactions of the King, and to condemn with asperity his maxims of administration; was committed to prison, and adjudged to die by the council of state, as guilty of treason. But Philip, however cruel and relentless he was on religious subjects, with much magnanimity and wisdom, ordered him to be set at liberty; observing, as the great Frederic, King of Prussia, is known to have done in our time, that “a sovereign is never more secure
“ from the resentment of his subjects, than while

^z Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 79. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 346, 347.

“ their

“ their discontent is allowed to exhale in CHAP.
 “ complaints.”² III.

Some accidental or fortuitous circumstances contributed to give strength to the principles of political decay already enumerated, as operating on the Spanish monarchy. The vigour and capacity of Elizabeth, Queen of England, seemed to be opposed by Providence, as a barrier to the inroads of the power of Spain, towards the north. Under so tame a sovereign as James the First, the English nation would never have manifested the energies which distinguished the maiden reign. The warlike and enterprising character of Solyman, the Turkish Emperor, at the other extremity of Europe, checked the arms of Philip, along the coast of Barbary, and throughout the Levant. More than either Elizabeth or Solyman, the genius and resources of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, rendered ineffectual all the efforts of the Duke of Alva, sustained by the veteran troops, and the treasures of his master. The very local position of the Low Countries, completely separated from all the other branches of the Spanish monarchy, as well as so conveniently situated for receiving support from France, Germany, and England; should have induced a cautious prince to pause, before he invaded their privileges, and compelled them to resistance. Philip, impelled by a

1574.

Barriers
 opposed to
 Philip's
 conquests.

² Leti, vol. iv. p. 125—128.

stern,

C H A P. stern, vindictive, and bigotted policy, having
 III. overlooked or despised these obvious impe-
 1574. diments, commenced a war which survived the
 limits of his life and reign.

Commerce
 of Spain.

The commerce of Spain with the colonies of North and South America, was at this period carried on exclusively from the port of Seville in Andalusia. When Philip visited in 1570, for the first time, that famous city, the antient capital of the Castilian kings; the inhabitants gratuitously presented him the sum of six hundred thousand Ducats, as a testimony of their attachment, on his approaching nuptials with the Arch-duchess Anne, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian the Second^b. No other place in Europe, if we except Venice, could have given to its sovereign, a similar mark of loyalty and liberality. The Galleons, which annually sailed and returned from Peru and Mexico, to Seville, rendered it one of the most opulent cities in the world. But, though the crown derived an immense revenue, the kingdom was little enriched by the American trade; while manufactures of every kind experienced a rapid decline.

Transfer
 of the ca-
 pital to
 Madrid.

It is from about the year 1560, that Madrid may be considered as the capital of Spain, Philip having transferred thither his court. Toledo had succeeded to Seville, as the metropolis of Castile, and the usual residence of their kings; but Charles the Fifth having

^b Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 81. Above two hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling.

already

already in a great degree abandoned it, constructed a palace at Madrid, and proceeded to trace the plan of a town, which his successor continued and completed^c. It is difficult to conceive why these princes should have deserted the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir and of the Tagus, to fix their abode on the shallow torrent of the Manzanares, in a comparatively cold and piercing climate, exposed to great vicissitudes; and in a plain, destitute of any natural beauties, or commercial advantages. The motives of the Czar Peter, for quitting Moscow, first to construct, and then to inhabit Petersburgh, are apparent. Those of Charles and Philip, for preferring Madrid, we must acknowledge to be less obvious, and they have not been satisfactorily explained by any of the contemporary writers. All the fine arts found in Philip, a liberal patron and protector. John Baptist de Toledo, and his disciple John d'Hemera, two celebrated architects, were employed in the construction of the *Escorial*^d. The superb aqueduct which conveyed water to the palace at Toledo, was built by his order; and he adorned the kingdom with numerous monuments of magnificence or of utility^e. The drawings executed at his expence, by Francis Hermando, which comprehended every object of natural history, together with the dresses and ceremonies of the inhabitants of the New

Encouragement
of the arts
by Philip.

^c Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 34.

^d Leti, vol. ii. p. 446—449.

^e Leti, vol. iii. p. 496, 497.

CHAP. P. World;

III.

1574.

curious works, ever undertaken by the command of any prince, and did honour to the elegance of his taste^f. Neither the elder Cosmo, nor his grandson Lorenzo de Medicis, the greatest encouragers of genius and the sciences whom we have seen in modern ages, exhibited a stronger proof of munificence and well directed enquiry. It is doubtful whether this invaluable collection still exists, or whether it perished in the conflagration which consumed a part of the *Escorial* in 1671, under Charles the Second of Spain, last prince of the Austrian line.^g

To Philip's zeal for the Catholic faith, not to his protection of letters, or enlargement of mind, we must attribute another splendid literary work, begun in 1562, but not completed before 1577; namely, the Polyglot or Complut Bible, enriched with commentaries, notes, and various readings. It was printed at Antwerp, by Christopher Plantin or Plantinus, under the direction and superintendence of the greatest Theologians in Europe, aided by various persons celebrated for their erudition in the Oriental languages. The council of the Inquisition, as well as the universities of Alcala, Louvain, and Paris, were all consulted relative to it; and the expence, amounting to fifty thousand Ducats, was defrayed in the first instance by the King, though he subsequently

^f Leti, vol. iii. p. 36—39.^g Ibid. vol. ii. p. 449.

exacted

exacted restitution of all the money advanced for the object. Plantin was not a natural born subject of Philip, but a Frenchman, who had retired to Antwerp, then a city as eminent for arts and letters, as for commerce, previous to the wars of the Low Countries. At Antwerp, Plantin established his printing presses, which for their beauty and elegance of types, attracted the admiration of all Europe. He was honoured with the title of Arch-printer to the King of Spain; a denomination never revived in the person of any other individual. He survived the calamities of Antwerp, acquired great riches by his profession, and died in 1589, at a late period of life.^h

Severities
of the In-
quisition.

Notwithstanding these ostentatious proofs of his love of religion, and his attention to the arts; the bigotry of Philip, and his intolerant spirit, operating with irresistible effect upon the human mind, banished learning, extinguished genius, and degraded the very national character of the Spaniards. The terrors of the Inquisition, and the frequency of its public executions, having altered the natural manners of the people, rendered them distrustful, silent, and gloomyⁱ. No rank, virtues, correct moral conduct, or even ecclesiastical dignity, protected from the researches of the *holy office*. Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, the first prelate in Spain, a man of the most irreproach-

^h Leti, vol. ii. p. 442, 443. Dict. Hist. vol. vii. Art. Plantin.

ⁱ Dict. Hist. v. ii. Art. Carranza. Turquet, p. 1119—1123.

C H A P. III. able manners, adorned with every Christian virtue, was arrested, thrown into prison, and confined during seventeen years, only upon some pretended doubts entertained respecting the Orthodoxy of his religious belief. He had accompanied Philip to London in 1554, when that Prince espoused Mary, Queen of England; and had given while in this country, the strongest proofs of zeal for the propagation of the Catholic faith. But having attended the Emperor Charles the Fifth in 1558, at the convent of St. Just in Estremadura, during Charles's last moments, he fell under suspicion of heresy. After languishing for eight years in the prisons of the Inquisition, Carranza was transferred to Rome, where he passed nine more years in similar confinement. Gregory the Thirteenth, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, though he ordered public testimonies of satisfaction to be exhibited for the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris; testimonies which were probably involuntary on his part; yet appreciated and honoured Carranza's merit. But even the sovereign pontiffs trembled at the *holy office*. The unfortunate Archbishop was only liberated from his captivity, a few months before his death, which took place in 1573, at Rome; where his exemplary piety and resignation had rendered him an object of universal admiration, no less than of compassion^k.

The suspicion of even the slightest deviation

^k Leti, vol. ii. p. 449—457.

from the Catholic creed, formed in Philip's estimate, an irremissible crime, only to be expiated at the stake. He had no sooner landed in his dominions from Flanders, in 1559, than he demanded an Auto da Fé to be performed at Valladolid, though the Inquisitors had recently celebrated a similar act in that city, where thirty persons had perished in the flames. In the present age we can scarcely conceive it possible, that the King, accompanied by his sister, and attended by all the ladies of the court, should have assisted at so horrid a spectacle, as at a ceremony of state, or rather as a diversion. More than forty unhappy persons of both sexes, and some among them of noble extraction, were burnt to death, under the eyes of their own sovereign¹. On the 22d of December, 1560, seventy people, men and women, were consumed to ashes at Seville, in another of these acts of faith^m. It is easy to imagine the consternation, which such human sacrifices must have impressed on the minds of the whole nation. The Jews and Mahometans were in fact compelled to assume the Catholic profession, in order to avoid death, accompanied with confiscation of their effectsⁿ. It is asserted, that in almost every action fought by the Spaniards during Philip's reign, on an inspection of the dead bodies left upon the field,

Public punishments of heretics.

¹ Leti, vol. ii. p. 291—294. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 348—350. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 32, 33.

^m Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 354.

ⁿ Leti, vol. iii. p. 285, 286.

numbers,

CHAP. numbers of them were found to be circum-
 III. cised: a striking proof of the unfortunate ne-
 1574. cessity, to which the followers of Moses and
 Mahomet were reduced, of dissembling and
 concealing their real religion! It may justly
 be questioned whether the Mexicans, accused
 by the Spaniards of offering human victims to
 their deities, ever sacrificed as many, as Phi-
 lip the Second. Neither Nero, nor Diocle-
 tian, ever assisted at the executions of the
 Christians, though they authorized the perse-
 cutions under which the primitive martyrs suf-
 fered. The cruelty of Philip was cold, system-
 atic, and unrelenting; because it assumed the
 character, as well as the attributes of religion.

State of
 letters.

Neither history, poetry, nor polite letters,
 had attained to any degree of eminence in
 Spain, before the conclusion of the period
 under our review. Since the death of Gar-
 cilasso de la Vega, who flourished under
 Charles the Fifth, and who perished by the
 chance of war, in the course of the unfor-
 tunate invasion of Provence by that Empe-
 ror, in 1536; no poet of superior genius had
 arisen among his countrymen. Garcilasso
 enriched and ornamented the Spanish lan-
 guage, by his productions in verse. His
 odes, which from their sweetness and deli-
 cacy, were compared by his contemporaries
 with those of Horace, rendered him cele-
 brated throughout Europe°. He forms a sin-

° Dict. Hist. vol. iv. Art. Garcilasso. Biogr. Dict. vol. v. p. 542, 543.

gular instance of a poet who died fighting in the field. Having followed his imperial master on his expeditions into Germany, and against Tunis, Garcilasso accompanied him likewise in his memorable irruption into France. There he was wounded by a stone ball discharged from a piece of artillery, at the siege of Frejus, near the shore of the Mediterranean, of which injury he expired shortly afterwards at Nice. The Emperor is said to have been present at, and to have witnessed the accident. Garcilasso, who was a native of Toledo, was carried off at the early age of thirty-six. We must not confound him with Lope de Vega, the Shakespeare of Spain, who flourished under Philip the Second, and his two successors, Philip the Third and Fourth. Cervantes, who has eclipsed the fame of all his predecessors, and who contributed more than any other person of the age, to diffuse the knowledge and cultivation of his native tongue, beyond the limits of the Spanish monarchy, had not commenced his literary career before 1574. Like Garcilasso de la Vega, Cervantes fought indeed, as we know, at the memorable battle of Lepanto, which took place three years earlier, where he lost his left hand: but, having been soon afterwards captured by the Moors, and carried to Algiers, he remained a prisoner in Africa, during several years. The earliest effusions of his genius are of a later date than the portion of time before us; and "Don Quixote" belongs even to

CHAP. another century. It did not appear till 1605, under the reign of Philip the Third^p. Mariana, the father of Spanish history, was still unknown; and his voluminous work, which comprizes the annals of his own country, down to the decease of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1516; though compiled under Philip the Second, was not published before a late period of that Prince's reign.^q

General
reflexions.

If we were to name the portion of time, during which the Spanish national grandeur remained at its highest point of elevation, and after which æra it began to decline, there can be no doubt that we should date it from the peace of Cateau en Cambresis in 1559, down to the beginning of the hostilities in Flanders, in 1567; comprizing a space of only about eight years. Philip, who had given the law to France, after having defeated her armies in the field, then stood on the pinnacle of power, and must have remained arbiter of Europe, if he had not incensed the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and forced them into rebellion. Scarcely was Bonaparte more formidable from 1805 to 1812, than the King of Spain from 1559 to 1567. Moscow proved to the Corsican, that barrier which the Netherlands became to Philip. The acquisition of Portugal, which took place soon after the death of King Sebastian in 1580, with all its dependencies in Asia and Africa, however prodigious

^p Biogr. Dict. vol. xi. p. 174.

^q Ibid. vol. ix. p. 77.

such

such an augmentation must be considered ; yet could not counterbalance the irreparable injury which Philip had already sustained by the revolt of the Flemings. At the time of the death of Charles the Ninth, he still however indisputably maintained the first situation, and a preponderating influence, among the European princes : while his ambition, added to the possession of so many kingdoms, and treasures so inexhaustible, inspired general terror or apprehension. The Spanish people necessarily derived consequence from the extent and splendor of the monarchy. Their language, modes, and dress, obtained universally over the continent ; and this consideration, the natural result of national superiority, did not cease or diminish, for many years subsequent to the period now under our review.

C H A P.

III.

1574.

CHAP. IV.

PORTUGAL.

Survey of the Portuguese discoveries before the death of Alfonso the Fifth. — Accession and reign of John the Second. — Prosecution of naval enterprizes by that Prince. — Accession of Emanuel. — Discovery of the passage to India, by Vasco de Gama. — Conquests of Albuquerque. — His recal and death. — Decease of Emanuel. — Reign of John the Third. — Magnitude of the Portuguese empire in Asia. — Accession of Sebastian. — State of Portugal, in 1574. — Power of the crown. — Revenues. — Military force. Navy. — Letters. — Review of the Portuguese exploits in Asia. — Difficulty of the navigation to India. — Courage and achievements of the first adventurers. — Virtue and disinterestedness of the Portuguese, contrasted with their vices and crimes. — Oppressions and cruelties, exercised on the Asiatics. — Pernicious effects of their religious zeal. — Conclusion.

CHAP. IV.

1412—
1460.
State of
Portugal
before the
middle of
the fif-
teenth cen-
tury.

TOWARDS the middle of the fifteenth century, the human mind, which had remained in a great degree torpid and inactive during the space of near a thousand years, since the destruction of the Roman empire in the west; appeared to awaken, and to exert itself, in every part of Europe. Its efforts in the southern kingdoms, were however much more powerful and energetic, than in those countries situated nearer the pole. In Italy, as if congenial with the soil and climate,

mate, the arts gradually unfolded themselves, while painting led the way to sculpture and architecture. But no country at that memorable æra, attracted more of the admiration of its contemporaries, or lays stronger claim to the gratitude and curiosity of posterity, than Portugal. Its geographical situation, open to the vast Atlantic Ocean, together with the rivers and ports which it possessed, seemed eminently to qualify the inhabitants for naval enterprizes. Never was any position more happily chosen for commerce and maritime pre-eminence, than that of Lisbon. The vicinity of the southern provinces, the Algarvas, to the African coast; and even the perpetual hostilities in which, from religious zeal or from policy, their kings were engaged with the Moors of Fez, contributed to give the Portuguese some information respecting the extent and productions of that immense and unexplored continent. Yet, so contracted it appears was their knowledge on these points, that at the beginning of the fourteenth century, we find, the geography of the western shore of Morocco was utterly unknown or unascertained, below the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude; and the name of Cape *Non* was significantly given to the head-land itself which terminated their discoveries, from the supposed impracticability of passing, or navigating beyond that limit to the South.*

Ignorance
of navigation.

* Lafitau, *Descouvertes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 7, 8.

CHAP.

IV.

1412—

1460.

Discove-
ries effect-
ed by
Prince
Henry.

The genius and exertions of a single individual, nevertheless soon removed or surmounted these imaginary obstacles. Henry, fifth son to John the First, King of Portugal, appears to have been one of those extraordinary persons, whom Providence seems to produce from time to time, for the purpose of illuminating mankind, extending the bounds of the human mind, and diffusing knowledge. From his youth he manifested the strongest ardour, and the most indefatigable industry, in pushing his researches along the western coast of Africa, which then constituted the most obvious and natural field for maritime skill, as well as enterprise. He bestowed his time, and expended his revenues, almost wholly in the attempt; regardless of the numerous impediments, which ignorance, prejudice, and error continually presented, to check his endeavours: and though near ten years elapsed before the navigators whom he employed, had advanced from Cape Non, to Cape Boyador, a space of only about thirty leagues; yet, the spirit of discovery to which he had given birth, acquiring vigour as it proceeded, finally overcame every difficulty.

Madeira.

In 1418 the small isle of Porto Santo was discovered, and the more valuable acquisition of Madeira in its vicinity, was made two years afterwards: an island which Horace or Anacreon would have celebrated in their Odes, and which has contributed not less to the conviviality of the table in modern ages, than did the Falernian or Formian hills to the suppers of Lucullus

Lucullus or of Mæcenæ, in Roman antiquity. CHAP.
 Prince Henry, not satisfied with merely dis- IV.
 covering these sister islands, having procured
 sugar-canes from Cyprus and from Sicily, as
 well as some of the choicest vines of the Greek
 islands in the Archipelago, to be brought him,
 caused them to be transplanted to Madeira^b.
 The Canaries, another cluster of isles, already
 known to the Castilians, and which antiquity
 denominated "the fortunate islands," from the
 supposed beauty and felicity of their climate,
 were visited by the Portuguese as they ad-
 vanced southward^c. The whole African shore
 along the Atlantic, became gradually explored.
 The two great head-lands of Cape Blanco and
 Cape de Verd, were successively doubled be-
 fore the year 1444; and a fort was begun in
 the island of Arguin, on the coast of Negro-
 land, for the protection of commerce. Gold
 in very considerable quantities being found,
 was brought into Portugal. The Portuguese
 people, enriched by these discoveries, which
 promised immense wealth to the adventurers,
 engaged in them with enthusiasm: while the
 Popes gave their sanction to enterprizes, cal-
 culated to diffuse the Catholic faith over coun-
 tries plunged in darkness or idolatry; and con-
 firmed to the crown of Portugal, in virtue of
 their pretended prerogatives, as the successors
 of St. Peter, the exclusive supremacy and pos-

Canary
islands.

Coast of
Africa.

^b Lafitau, vol. i. p. 9—11.

^c La Clede, Histoire de Portugal, vol. i. p. 401, 402.

CH A P. session of all the regions, which the courage
IV.

1412—
1460.
Death of
Prince
Henry.

of their subjects should acquire. At the death of Prince Henry in 1460, he had not only laid open to his countrymen, and to the world at large, a prodigious tract of the continent of Africa, extending south to the frontier of Guinea; but by giving activity and energy to the general pursuit of knowledge^d, he had prepared the way for Vasco de Gama, and for Columbus. His beneficence and liberality were equal to the enlargement of his intellectual views: and in whatever light we survey him, whether as a native of Portugal, or as a citizen of the world; it is impossible to refuse him our veneration, as one of the most illustrious individuals, to whom modern ages have given birth.

Reign of
Alfonso
the Fifth.

The reign of Alfonso the Fifth, nephew to Prince Henry, proved unpropitious nevertheless, to the prosecution of naval discoveries, which languished and were suspended for some years. Alfonso, who was engaged during the former part of his reign, in perpetual and successful hostilities against the Moors of Fez and Morocco; from whom he took the cities of Arzyla and Tangier, which acquired him the surname of “the African,” appears to have nourished no partiality for maritime enterprizes of a speculative nature. The latter portion of his life was passed in a ruinous contest with

^d La Clede, vol. i. p. 406. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 17—23, and p. 28—30.

Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, which desolated his dominions, and impoverished his subjects^c. But, when the crown descended to his only son, John the Second, then in the twenty-sixth year of his age, every thing assumed another aspect; and it is with his accession, that the history of Portugal becomes equally interesting, as it is copious in events deserving the attention of posterity. John found his kingdom in that situation which England exhibited at the extinction of the Plantagenets, nearly about the same period; in which France stood when Louis the Eleventh ascended the throne; and of which every country in Europe then partook in a greater, or in a less degree. The sovereign constituted merely the head and leader of a powerful Aristocracy, who not only possessed an immense landed property, but, every individual of which body assumed a species of independant and uncontrollable jurisdiction over his own vassals. The royal authority, thus checked and restrained by the nobles, could exercise no act of supremacy on their private estates, nor venture on any such general regulations of police as affected the particular immunities of that class, who were scarcely in fact to be denominated subjects. The irrevocable determination of the new King having been taken, to liberate himself from fetters so

CH A P.
IV.

1481.

State of
Portugal,
at the ac-
cession of
John the
Second.

Limited
nature of
the royal
authority.

^c La Clede, vol. i. p. 425—481. passim. Vasconcellos, Vie de Jean Second, p. 36—123. passim.

CHAP. severe; the vigour of his mind rendered him
 IV. equal to the magnitude and difficulty of the
 1481. attempt.^f

Augmen-
 tation of it
 by the new
 King.

John began the arduous work, with revoking every donation extorted from him by importunity, or conceded by inexperience, previous to the date of his accession. Commissaries being dispatched by his direction, through all the provinces, for the express purpose of enquiring into abuses, the administration of public justice was reformed; and the irregularities of various kinds, to which the facility or profusion of his father Alfonso had given rise, were corrected. Proceeding gradually to the attainment of the great object of his regulation, he next ventured to alter the oath taken by the nobility at every coronation of the sovereign; rendering the compact far more binding and coercive, than it had been under the form previously administered. He finally demanded the titles of such of their lands as were held of the crown, or which had been conferred by his predecessors; annulled their baronial courts of criminal justice, in which sentence of life and death was pronounced without appeal; and ordered his own legal officers to enter upon, and to determine finally every cause of a capital nature, throughout the kingdom. Of course the number of judges becoming proportionably augmented, men of letters, thoroughly versed in the laws and jurisprudence of their country,

^f Vasconcellos, p. 155—160.

were substituted in place of the nobles, who had been accustomed to take cognizance of all crimes, and to proceed to the execution of their arbitrary decrees. ^{CHAP. IV.} ^{1481.}

We cannot wonder that innovations so unprecedented and comprehensive, should have spread universal alarm, and have excited instant opposition. The principal nobility, intimidated by the promptitude and decision of the King's measures, contented themselves with complaining: Ferdinand, Duke of Braganza, alone, as head of that order, not only entered a protest against the violence committed upon their privileges; but warmly remonstrated with his sovereign, in a personal conference. This nobleman, who descended by a natural son, from John the First, and who was in the vigour of his age, as well as of a character equally calculated to excite respect, and to conciliate affection, might be considered as a most formidable opponent. His possessions and revenues were immense; and his consideration among the people, derived from birth, was sustained by his liberality, valour, and courtesy. Three younger brothers, who occupied high situations about the throne, while they added to his consequence, rendered him proportionably an object of apprehension. ^{1482. Dissatisfaction of the nobility.} ^{Duke of Braganza's conduct.}

Incensed at the obstacles which the Duke of Braganza's firmness opposed to his designs, John appears to have determined on his de-

* Vasconcellos, p. 160—167. La Clede, vol. i. p. 485, 486.

CHAP. IV. 1482.struction. The punishment of so illustrious a person, allied by blood and by marriage to the throne, would naturally, he conceived, strike universal terror, and operate in the most effectual manner to extinguish all further resistance. Concealing nevertheless his intention, under the veil of profound dissimulation, and waiting for a pretext to justify so hazardous a measure, the King suspended the meditated blow. Some papers, of a nature approaching to criminal, which were contained in a correspondence that the Duke had carried on with Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile, of which letters John became possessed, furnished him with a plausible pretence for coming to extremities. Having caused the Duke to be arrested in his own palace and presence, and having commanded the royal council of justice to take cognizance of the cause; the King proceeded, without regard to the accustomed legal formalities, to pronounce sentence. The articles of accusation were in themselves ambiguous and equivocal; but the tribunal did not the less condemn the prisoner to lose his head, and to forfeit his estates to the crown. In vain he declined, with the hope of mollifying the royal indignation, to enter on any defence, or even extenuation of the crimes imputed to him: John, who was inexorable, and who acted on system, had marked him out as a victim and an example. The Duke suffered with exemplary fortitude and calm-

His seizure,
and execution.

calmness^a. It is impossible to regard him as other than a sacrifice to the principle laid down by the King on his accession, of humbling the formidable power of the Portuguese nobility. The brothers of the Duke, on the first intelligence of his seizure, having retired into Castile, all the ample possessions of the family were immediately confiscated. John, who knew and practised the arts of popularity, with not less skill than Elizabeth exerted them among us, a century later; proceeded, after so bold an act of despotic power, to visit in person the provinces, in which lay the patrimony of the house of Braganza. While on one hand he took possession of their castles, and fortified the frontiers towards Spain, he affected an attention to the complaints of the common people, redressed their grievances, and endeavoured to reconcile them to their change of masters.ⁱ

CHAP.
IV.
1482.

The innocence of the Duke of Braganza was however so generally understood, and the apprehension excited among the nobility, by the King's conduct, rose to such a height, as soon to produce a serious and real conspiracy. It had for its primary object, the death of John; to be followed by the seizure of Alfonso his only son, the heir to the crown; with a view to place on the throne, James, Duke of Viseo, cousin to the King, first prince

1483.
Conspiracy
against the
King,
formed by
the Duke
of Viseo.

^a La Clede, vol. i. p. 487—499. Vasconcellos, p. 171—175, and p. 258—280.

ⁱ Vasconcellos, p. 303—316. La Clede, vol. i. p. 502.

CHAP. of the blood. Several noblemen, equally eminent for courage and for talents, entered into the plot. The Duke of Viseo himself, ensnared by his ambition, and deluded by the predictions of astrologers, became its principal conductor. In the bloom of youth, adorned with many qualities of mind and body formed to acquire partizans, and to attach the multitude; his love of pleasure, his prodigality of disposition, and his affability, rendered him popular, as well as dangerous.

The vigilance of the King, aided by the spies which he entertained about the persons of all those whom he suspected, procured him speedy information of the danger. Having augmented his ordinary guard, and taken other precautions to ensure his personal safety, he waited for more manifest indications of their guilt, before he inflicted punishment; and the conspirators, emboldened by the delay, were repeatedly on the point of carrying their design into effect. Being at length determined to take exemplary vengeance, and even to execute it in person, he sent to command the attendance of the Duke of Viseo, at St. Ubes, where the court then resided. That prince, who was on a visit to the Infanta his mother, at the castle of Palmela, only a league distant, immediately obeyed: but he had no sooner arrived at the palace, and entered the royal presence, than three persons instantly secured the door of the apartment. The King abruptly demanded of him, what punishment

nishment he would inflict on the man who should attempt his life; and the Duke, thrown into confusion at such a question, replying, "Sire, I would kill him, if I was able;" John answered, "You have pronounced your own sentence." Drawing his poniard at the same moment, he plunged it into the Duke's breast, and repeated the blow till he expired.

It is impossible, after contemplating the execution of the Duke of Braganza, performed in defiance of all the ordinary legal formalities, followed by John's premeditated assassination of the Duke of Viseo under the roof of the royal palace; not to be reminded of the similar scenes acted precisely at the same period of time, in our own country. Scenes, which from their sanguinary atrocity, have excited the incredulity of some modern writers; but which, the manners of that age, familiar with crimes, and accustomed to shed blood, render perfectly credible! The decapitation of Lord Hastings, in the same year 1483, without any form of law or trial, by order of the Lord Protector Gloucester; and the murder of Edward, Prince of Wales, at Tewksbury, together with that of his unfortunate father, King Henry the Sixth, poignarded in the Tower of London, some years earlier; both of which last mentioned acts we are taught to believe, were perpetrated by the same Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third, with his own hand; — bear a striking analogy to the conduct of John the Second of Portugal. If

CHAP. we wanted further proofs of the frequency of
 IV. such sanguinary deeds being performed by
 1483. royal executioners in person, the annals of
 Scotland in the fifteenth century, furnish them
 in abundance. We find James the First, one
 of the most superior princes of the Stuart
 line, seizing on his own nearest relations,
 Murdo, Duke of Albany, and his sons, during
 the deliberations of parliament; and after a
 summary process, striking off their heads.
 His son James the Second, far exceeded the
 precedent, and seemed to take for his model,
 the worst tyrants of antiquity. After allur-
 ing William, the eighth Earl of Douglas, not
 only by the most solemn promises of protec-
 tion, but by a safe-conduct under the great
 seal of Scotland, to put himself into the royal
 power, and to repair to Stirling castle; James,
 after a short expostulation with the Earl,
 stabbed him to the heart with his own hand.
 The conduct of James the First and Second,
 towards the great Scottish nobility or princes
 of the blood, originated precisely in the same
 motives which impelled John the Second;
 namely, a systematical plan for overturning
 the feudal independence of the aristocracy.^k

Severe,
 and vigor-
 ous mea-
 sures of
 John.

This extraordinary and tragical scene of
 the Duke of Viseo's assassination, was fol-
 lowed by the seizure and execution of his
 principal accomplices. Notwithstanding the

^k Vasconcellos, p. 319—344. La Clede, vol. i. p. 503—506.
 Abregé Chronol. de Portugal, vol. i. p. 716—718. Robertson's
 Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 30—60. passim.

genius of the age, little accustomed to the regular proceedings of justice, and familiarized to acts of violence; yet the conduct of John, in assuming the right of putting his cousin to death with his own hand, unheard, excited severe animadversions. In order to justify his treatment of the Duke, he therefore not only caused the proofs of the treason meditated against himself, to be rendered public and incontestable; but he issued a declaration, setting forth the reasons which had necessitated him to adopt so unusual a mode of punishment, and stating the hazard annexed to bringing so illustrious a culprit, before the ordinary tribunal for crimes of state¹. Even though this exculpation had not proved satisfactory to the nation at large, yet such was the vigour of his administration, and so completely were the Portuguese nobility humbled by the King's decision and severity, that no traces of disaffection manifested themselves.

John, satisfied with the example which he had held out to them in the person of the first prince of the blood, treated his only surviving brother, with affection and generosity. He was then in the fifteenth year of his age, and afterwards ascended the throne, by the name of Emanuel; a name which his great endowments have rendered illustrious in modern history. The King, in order to obliterate the remembrance of the crimes and

He protects Emanuel, Duke of Beja.

¹ Vasconcellos, p. 344—349.

CHAP. misfortunes of the Duke of Viseo, changed Emanuel's ducal title to that of Beja; conferring on him the dignities of Grand Master of the military order of Christ, and Constable of Portugal, as well as all the estates which his brother's treason had forfeited to the crown.^m

IV.

1483.

Able administration.

These private acts of liberality and munificence, were followed by institutions of the most beneficial nature to his subjects. Agriculture received every encouragement from John, and commerce enjoyed his distinguished protection. The duties levied on articles of trade, were wisely diminished; and foreigners from every part of Europe, were invited to settle in Lisbon. The current coin, which had been debased under the reign of Alfonso the Fifth, was restored in value; and all the regulations were adopted, which a wise and enlarged system of government could dictate, for the prosperity of the people. Portugal, though desolated by the plague, yet began already to enter upon that period of her annals, which from its prosperity and felicity, has been commemorated by their historians, with the title of "the golden ageⁿ." The reign of Elizabeth among us, has obtained a nearly similar denomination; and they form the only two portions of time, which the gratitude of the people in any part of Europe, since the destruction of the Roman empire, has honoured

^m Vasconcellos, livre iv. p. 3—5.

ⁿ Ibid. p. 16—22.

with that flattering testimony of admiration or regret. CHAP.
IV.

1483.

Prosecution of
naval discoveries.

The commotions and conspiracies which had hitherto disturbed the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, however alarming in themselves, had not in any degree diverted the King's attention from prosecuting the maritime discoveries along the western coast of Africa. Within a few months after his accession, he sent Mendez to complete the fort in the isle of Arguin, begun by command of the celebrated Prince Henry: and notwithstanding the opposition which these dangerous enterprizes underwent in the council of state, from men of confined views, or of insurmountable prejudices, Diego de Azambuya, at the head of a considerable squadron, set sail from the Tagus. Advancing to the coast of Guinea, he landed in the territories of a prince named Caramanza, with whom he entered into a treaty°. A fortress and settlement, named St. George de la Mina, were constructed in consequence of the negotiation with the Negro chief, and a most lucrative commerce was established with the natives. Gold mines being opened and worked, soon produced a prodigious profit to the crown, as well as to the private adventurers who engaged in the undertaking. A town which was gradually formed, became rapidly peopled. It was soon garrisoned by above five hundred regular troops, and formed the capital of a

Conquests
in Africa.

° Vasconcellos, p. 183—200.

C H A P. tract of country subjected to the crown of Portugal, extending seventy leagues along the sea-shore of Africa. John already assumed the title of "Lord of Guinea," which his successors have retained down to the present time^p.

IV.

1483.

Precautions for the security of commerce.

Such were the advantages arising from this territorial possession, that every exertion was made by the King, not only for its protection and preservation; but as far as possible, to preclude all other European nations from attaining any knowledge of its precise geographical situation. The difficulties of the voyage and navigation were therefore studiously exaggerated; at the same time that a veil was drawn, and silence enjoined, respecting every circumstance connected with the discoveries. Nor did the jealous precautions of John stop here; for, having been informed that the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a subject of Castile, had obtained permission from Edward the Fourth, King of England, to equip an armament in his ports, the destination of which was meant for the coast of Guinea, he dispatched two ambassadors to the court of London. They represented to Edward, the injustice of the attempt in so forcible a manner, insisting at the same time so strongly on the sanctity of the exclusive grant made by the Popes to the Portuguese princes, of all lands to be discovered by them; that he immediately issued a proclamation, en-

^p Lafitau, vol. i. p. 31—37. La Clede, vol. i. p. 511—516. Vasconcellos, liv. iv. p. 33—40.

joining

joining his subjects, under severe penalties, not to give any aid to the Duke of Medina Sidonia^a. C H A P.
IV.

This fact, which has not been commemorated by any contemporary English historian, forms not one of the least curious features of the period under our consideration; and may serve to shew that Edward entertained more enlarged conceptions of commerce, than are usually attributed to that Prince. 1483.

The improvements made upon the invention of the quadrant, about this period, which greatly facilitated the navigation of the Atlantic, were due to the studies and genius of three very able mathematicians employed by John, who rendered that instrument common, as well as generally useful to mariners. The Portugueze, joining nautical skill to intrepidity, ventured, the first of any modern nation, to quit the coasts; and entrusting themselves at a distance from land, to traverse the unknown ocean, at a time when neither England nor France possessed the rudiments of maritime knowledge^r. Notwithstanding however the active and enlightened attention which the King displayed, relative to every proposition tending to the discovery of the globe, he lost the most signal occasion of immortalizing his name and reign which could have presented itself, by rejecting the offers of Columbus. That extraordinary man, arriving at Lisbon, made proposals for sailing 1484.

Rejection
of the of-
fers of Co-
lumbus.

^a Vasconcellos, liv. ii. p. 200—206.

^r Lafitau, vol. i. p. 51.

C H A P.

IV.

1484.

Reflexions
on it.

in quest of the western continent, which he asserted to exist beyond the limits of the Atlantic Ocean. They were submitted for examination, to the ablest Cosmographers in Portugal, who treated them as absurd and visionary dreams. But John, not satisfied with their decision, caused the propositions of Columbus to be agitated and discussed, in a convocation of the prelates and grandees of the kingdom. After vehement disputes, it was finally determined in the assembly, not less on account of the vast expence annexed to such an undertaking, than from the improbability of its success, to decline engaging in it; but rather to pursue with augmented industry, the discovery of a passage to the East Indies, by doubling the southern point of Africa. Columbus was dismissed with this reply. If we reflect upon the limited extent and population of Portugal, it must be confessed that the determination, however inglorious it may seem, was nevertheless wise and prudent. Neither the revenues, nor the forces of so small a kingdom, could have sufficed for so vast an enterprize; the fruits of which, if it had proved successful, must have been gathered, or at least divided by a more powerful nation. Spain or France constituted the only European states in that age, fully competent to so great an attempt, or adequate to defending and retaining the countries discovered and subjected by their subjects. We shall find on mature consideration, reason to applaud and to approve, rather

rather than to condemn, as a measure of policy, the decision of John, upon this point.^s

C H A P.
IV.

As if anxious at the same time to rescue himself from the imputation of having relaxed in the pursuit itself, the King fitted out two squadrons, which sailed under separate commanders, with orders to penetrate into the other Hemisphere. The first of these expeditions, conducted by Diego Can, having passed the Equinoctial line, advanced near twenty-three degrees of Latitude beyond it, into the unexplored regions of the south. In the course of the voyage, he landed in the kingdom of Congo, and formed some connexions with the inhabitants; who, like all the other nations of the African coast, were found in a state of barbarism^t. Aveiro, who led the second naval armament, discovered the country of Benin, situated between the last-mentioned tract, and the shore of Guinea. The sovereign of Congo was soon induced to renounce the practice of idolatry, and to embrace the Christian faith; a change in which he was imitated by many of his subjects. But these new converts, incapable of understanding the mysteries of the religion which they had hastily assumed, and still less willing to submit to the renunciations which it enjoins, appear to have speedily relapsed into error. The hope and prospect of extending the light of Christianity to nations sunk in

1484—
1488.
New attempts to prosecute discoveries.

Conversion of Congo.

^s Vasconcellos, liv. iv. p. 25—33. La Clede, vol. i. p. 509—511.

^t Ibid. p. 33—38. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 37—48.

CHAP. darkness or ignorance, added however fresh incentives to those motives which already stimulated the Portuguese sovereign and people. The papal benediction and encouragement, both which were liberally bestowed on the persons engaging in so holy an undertaking; by awakening an enthusiasm highly favourable to every attempt, rendered the enterprize itself in some measure sacred, and accelerated its accomplishment.^u

Naval expedition of Diaz.

Impelled by the prosperous success of the fleets which had thus ranged the coast of Africa beyond the equinoctial line to so great an extent, Bartholomew Diaz was sent out with two ships. After struggling with difficulties of many kinds, he effected the principal object of his expedition; having reached, though he could not double, the southern extremity of the African continent. It is well known that he named that head land, from the storms by which he was assailed in approaching it, "The tempestuous Cape:" and it is a fact equally ascertained, that the King, animated with the expectation of speedily realizing his views of a passage to the East Indies round that promontory, changed the name given it by Diaz, and caused it to be called "The Cape of Good Hope."^x

Attempt to discover Abyassinia.

Impatient at the delay interposed to his wishes by sea, and indefatigable in the prosecution of the enterprize, John attempted by

^u Vascon. p. 38—40.

^x Lafitau, vol. i. p. 51—53. Vascon. p. 40—42.

another

another channel to ascertain its practicability. C H A P.
 The country of Abyssinia, which in the present IV.
 age has been partially explored, at the conclu- 1484—
 sion of the fifteenth century had exercised the 1488.
 curiosity, and powerfully attracted the atten-
 tion of all Europe. Fabulous, or uncertain
 accounts of a supposed Christian prince, de-
 signated under the name of *Prester John*, who
 reigned in that almost inaccessible country,
 stimulated to enquiry respecting him, and
 added a degree of religious fervor to the other
 motives which actuated the King. So problema-
 tical however was even the existence of Abys-
 sinia, and such was the ignorance of the pe-
 riod, that geographers were divided in opinion
 respecting its local situation; some placing it
 in the centre of Asia, while others asserted
 that it belonged to, and was contained in
 Africa. In order to clear up if possible, this
 interesting fact, and at the same time to ob-
 tain new information relative to India, John
 embraced an expedient which forcibly displays
 the energy of his mind, and the judicious re-
 searches which he had made, respecting the
 formation of the earth. He dispatched two
 gentlemen of his household, named Covillan
 and Payva, with instructions to penetrate into
 Abyssinia, as well as to proceed to India, by
 way of the Red Sea. They parted at Tor,
 near the head of the Arabian Gulph: and
 Payva pursuing his journey towards Nubia; a
 country where Bruce, scarcely forty years ago,
 escaped with difficulty from the variety of dan-
 gers

C H A P. gers by which he was assailed ; perished in the
 IV. attempt. But Covillan, more fortunate, reached
 1484— Aden in Arabia, a port situate on the Indian
 1488. Ocean ; from whence embarking, he arrived
 safely on the coast of Malabar, the principal
 cities of which interesting country he visited.
 Passing over next from Calicut, to the eastern side
 of Africa, he proceeded to Sofala in that quar-
 ter of the globe ; and returned again to Grand
 Cairo, before he entered Abyssinia, which ob-
 ject he at length successfully effected.

Success of
 it.

If we compare the extent and difficulties of
 Covillan's attempt, made in the fifteenth century,
 with the obstacles opposed to Bruce's journey
 from Massuah, near the entrance of the Red Sea,
 to Gondar ; and thence, through Nubia, to Cairo,
 between 1768 and 1772, near three hundred
 years later ; we shall not hesitate to admit, that
 the enterprize undertaken and executed by the
 former traveller, was far more hazardous, me-
 ritorious, and entitled to admiration, than
 Bruce's boasted visit to the sources of the Nile.
 And if we in like manner compare the efforts
 made by Louis the Fourteenth, for obtaining
 monuments of art and taste from the countries
 of the Levant, by sending Thevenot, Tourne-
 fort, and others, to those quarters of the globe ;
 with the mission of Payva and Covillan by
 John the Second, for the purpose of ascertain-
 ing and facilitating a passage to the East In-
 dies ; we shall perceive how much the balance
 of well-earned fame preponderates in favour of
 the Portugueze monarch, above the fastidious

sovereign of France. Previous to his quitting Egypt, Covillan transmitted to the King his master, the result of his information, accompanied with the most indubitable attestations, obtained at Sofala, of the certain existence of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. Such a confirmation of his expectations and conjectures, naturally impelled him to new and greater exertions for its complete attainment: and it must be owned, that in whatever point of view we consider it, no object more sublime, or more calculated to immortalize the prince who undertook, while it enriched the nation which atchieved it, could be presented to their ambition and love of glory.^y

The attention of posterity, powerfully attracted towards an event, which in its consequences opened to the human mind a vast career, while it produced a revolution in manners and commerce throughout Europe; is feebly excited by the domestic transactions or misfortunes of Portugal, at this period. It is not the internal history of a small monarchy, dismembered from Spain, which at the end of more than three centuries, we desire to peruse; but, the relation of those steps, by which a maritime and enterprizing people, conducted by a sovereign of superior attainments, gradually approached, and at length accomplished a discovery, of such magnitude and importance as

C H A P.
IV.1484—
1488.1488—
1490.
Domestic
occurrences.

^y Vascon. liv. iv. p. 43—45. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 48—51.

C H A P. the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, to
 IV. India. John the Second appears notwithstanding
 1488— ing equally distinguished in every part of his
 1490. character, and merits as much admiration in his
 domestic policy, as in his attempts to enlarge
 the sphere of industry, knowledge, and navigation.
 When opposed to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the most able and dexterous
 princes of the age, he was neither intimidated
 by their power, nor overreached by their subtilty
 and systematic contempt of the ties of treaties.
 By a spirited and judicious exhibition
 of his resources, sustained by some demonstrations
 of resentment at a critical juncture, he compelled
 the King and Queen of Castile to accomplish
 the marriage of Isabella, their eldest daughter,
 with Alfonso, Prince of Portugal, his only son;
 an alliance which had been stipulated to take
 place between the two crowns, under his predecessor's reign.

1491.
 Death of
 Alfonso,
 Prince of
 Portugal.

The premature death of the young prince, in consequence of a fatal accident, not long after the celebration of his nuptials, disappointed nevertheless the hopes entertained from the union of the royal houses; and opened at the same time a passage to the throne for Emanuel, Duke of Beja, notwithstanding the partial attachment of the King towards Don George, his natural son, whom he vainly attempted to call to the succession. The court of Lisbon was divided indeed between the two candidates: but the nation, which almost unanimously and enthusiastically adhered to Emanuel,

nuel, as the only legitimate heir, regarded his pretensions as indisputable.²

CHAP.
IV.

We may easily conceive with what emotions, a prince of the ardor and elevation of mind which distinguished John the Second, the predominant object and measure of whose reign had been to prosecute naval discoveries; must have beheld the return of Columbus, from his successful attempt to ascertain the existence of a new world beyond the Atlantic. That celebrated and illustrious person, whose proposals the King of Portugal had rejected; driven by tempestuous weather, was obliged to take refuge in the Tagus. John received him notwithstanding with uncommon honours, conversed with him on the unknown countries which he had visited, and viewed with wonder the natives of America whom he had brought over in his vessel to Europe. It is asserted, that at a council held upon the subject, in presence of the King, there were found persons who attempted to prove, that the newly-discovered continent and islands must belong of right to Portugal, as being comprehended in the original grant made by the popes to that crown, of all lands which might be discovered. They were even base enough, as we are assured, to advise their sovereign to cause Columbus himself to be assassinated: but John rejecting with indigna-

1492,
1493.
Return of
Columbus
from the
New
World.

He enters
the Tagus.

² Vascon. liv. iv. p. 100—103., and p. 168—182, and p. 190—197. La Clede, vol. i. p. 528—533. Abregé Chron. vol. i. p. 729 732.

CHAP. tion counsels so pernicious, permitted him to
 IV. pursue his voyage, unmolested, back to the har-
 1494. bours of Spain.^a

Line of
 Marcation,
 drawn by
 the Popes.

In consequence of his success, it became however indispensable to fix some limit to the respective pretensions and dominions of the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal; which, it was now for the first time foreseen, might otherwise interfere with each other, and come into collision. This necessity gave rise to one of the most curious facts recorded in the history of mankind. The popes, from whom, as the vicars of Christ, all delegations of authority were then believed to derive the only legitimate right; after mature deliberation, prescribed boundaries to the two monarchs, by drawing an imaginary line from north to south, on the surface of the globe, at the distance of one hundred leagues to the west of the islands of the Azores, situated in the Atlantic Ocean, nearly midway between the Old, and the New World. All the lands lying to the east of this supposed limit, denominated "the Line of Marcation," were declared to belong to Portugal: those situated west of it, were assigned to Spain. New disputes afterwards arose upon the interpretation of the treaty: disputes which resulted from the ignorance common to both nations, respecting the figure and formation of the globe: nor had the successors of St. Peter, who thus assumed a right to divide the planet

Reflexions
 on that
 event.

^a La Clede, vol. i. p. 540, 541. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 66—68. Vascon. p. 321—325. Neuville, Hist. Gen. de Portugal, vol. i. p. 605—607.

of the earth in equal portions, and to dispose of it as their own, any philosophical knowledge, or geographical comprehension, of the extent and nature of their donation. They were far from conceiving or imagining, that the navigators of the two countries, in prosecuting their respective discoveries, east and west, must infallibly meet, and thereby give rise to the necessity for a new limit, called “ the Line of Demarcation.” It must be owned, that among all the extraordinary pretensions arrogated by the Roman Pontiffs, and acquiesced in by the princes or nations of Europe; none conveys a higher idea of the plenitude of their apostolic power, and the profound submission with which their decrees were received, than the act of conferring by their sole decree, so vast a portion of the earth. The Roman senate never exercised, at any period of the republic, so extensive an authority, when deciding on the pretensions of the dependant kings and states who sued for their protection.^b

CHAP.
IV.
1494.

Stimulated by the recent success of Columbus, the King of Portugal, though declining in health, and already attacked with the symptoms of an incurable disease, endeavoured to complete the work of effecting a passage to India, which from the beginning of his reign had actuated his whole mind. A fleet, destined for its accomplishment, being fitted out,

1495.
New projects of discovery.

^b Vascon. liv. vi. p. 325—332, and p. 335—339. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 68, 69. La Clede, vol. i. p. 542, 543. Neuville, vol. i. p. 607, 608.

CH A P. the command was given to Vasco de Gama ; a
 IV. name, like that of Columbus, connected with all
 1495. the great naval discoveries of the fifteenth cen-
 tury. But, John's encreasing infirmities having

Death of
John.

retarded its departure, the glory of realizing the enterprize was reserved for his successor ; as the conquest of Persia, planned by Philip, was carried into execution by Alexander. Finding his end approach, John abandoned the project of placing on the throne his natural son, though not without reluctance ; and before his death he named Emanuel heir to the crown. Retaining not only the possession of his intellectual powers to the last moment, but exerting himself to perform the functions of a King, like William the Third in our own history, even to the instant of his dissolution, he only ceased to reign, when he ceased to live. ^c

Character.

John was surnamed by his contemporaries, from his extraordinary endowments, “ the perfect Prince :” an epithet which has been conferred on no other sovereign, antient, or modern ; not even on Titus, on Trajan, or on either of the Antonines. In the art of reigning, he has undoubtedly had few equals. It is related, that Henry the Seventh, King of England, having asked a nobleman of his court, who was recently returned from Portugal, what he had there seen most deserving of attention ; “ a king,” replied he, “ who commands all,

^c Vascon. liv. vi. p. 372—436. La Clede, vol. i. p. 547—549. Neuville, vol. i. p. 620—623.

“and is commanded by none.” Even his enemies did justice to his eminent qualities, and expressed their admiration of his superior talents. From system, as much as from natural character, he extended his peculiar protection to the inferior orders of his subjects, by whom in return he was idolized. Portugal, under his reign, which comprized only a space of fourteen years; from a state of the third order, scarcely known to exist, beyond the Alps or the Pyrenees, became powerful, wealthy, and illustrious; prosperous at home, and respected abroad, to the utmost extremities of Europe. If, however, we regard him morally as an individual, it will be difficult to applaud, or even to approve and to justify many of his actions. The execution of the Duke of Braganza, can only be considered as a sacrifice made to his thirst of power, and determination of humbling the nobility. Even his treatment of the Duke of Viseo, although that prince’s guilt should be allowed, will scarcely admit of a compleat apology; unless we seek for it in the manners and modes of acting adopted in that ferocious age, when princes held the dagger constantly unsheathed, and assumed the offices both of judge and of executioner. His intention of placing his natural son on the throne, from which he desisted with extreme reluctance, was manifestly unjust in itself, and must have involved Portugal in civil war. Notwithstanding these vices or defects, he will always be ranked among the greatest princes of modern ages:

C H A P.

IV.

1495.

October.
Accession
of Emanuel.

1497.
Expedition
of Vasco
de Gama.

who, if he did not actually effect the discovery of a passage by sea to India, prepared and accelerated that event, which took place immediately after his decease, under his successor.^d

Emanuel, who succeeded to the throne in the prime of life, with the dominions, seemed to inherit the inclinations and passions of John the Second. Equally intent on immortalizing himself, augmenting his power, and enriching his subjects, by accomplishing the object so nearly attained; after taking the precautions indispensable for securing internal tranquillity, he directed his whole attention to naval affairs. Disdaining the objections which were made in the council of state, he hastened the departure of Gama for the meditated expedition. That celebrated commander quitted the Tagus, at the head of a squadron consisting of four ships; accompanied by the fears, hopes, and prayers of an immense multitude of his countrymen assembled on the shore, who regarded the enterprize as devoted to inevitable destruction. After surmounting impediments, only inferior in magnitude to those which Columbus had experienced in his discovery of America, he attained, and passed the Cape of Good Hope; remounted the eastern shore of the continent of Africa, to the south of the equinoctial line, through thirty-four degrees of latitude; escaped the numerous dangers of that unknown

^d La Clede, vol. i. p. 549—552. Vascon. liv. vi. p. 437—447. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 20, 21. Neuville, vol. i. p. 625, 626. Osorio's History of Emanuel, vol. i. p. 5—8.

and inhospitable country; a country, still almost as much unknown to us in the present century, as it was to Vasco himself; and ultimately arrived in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar.^c

CHAP.
IV.
1497.

New obstacles to the lucrative commerce, which constituted the leading incentive and reward of the enterprize, awaited Gama, when he had effected the discovery of a passage to India. The exclusive trade of Calicut, as well as of the western shore of the peninsula of Indostan, had for ages been monopolized by the Mahometan and Arabian merchants. Exasperated at the unexpected appearance of such formidable competitors, arrived among them from the other extremity of the globe, by a track hitherto unexplored; they exerted every endeavour to alienate from the Portugueze, the minds of their sovereign and the inhabitants: but the wisdom, valour, and caution of Gama, extricated him from their snares. Returning to Europe by the same course as he had pursued on his passage out to India, he entered the Tagus in triumph; after having in the space of two years, completely attained the object of his voyage, and opened to mankind a new, as well as an immense field for industry, courage, and ambition. More fortunate than his rival and contemporary Columbus, he was not repaid for services so eminent, by imprisonment or

1498,
1499.
Discovery
of a pas-
sage to
India.

Gama's
return to
Lisbon.

^c Neuville, vol. ii. p. 18—21, and p. 31—43. Osorio, vol. i. p. 32—36, and p. 46—61. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 73—96. La Clede, vol. i. p. 555—559.

C H A P. neglect. Emanuel, sensible of his merit, raised
 IV. him to honours and dignities, which even at the
 1498, present day are enjoyed by his descendants :
 1499. while Portugal, a kingdom hitherto of little consequence among the states of Europe, prepared to burst from obscurity, and by rapid gradations, to effect the conquest of the most fertile and commercial countries of Asia, from Ceylon eastward to Java and the Moluccas. ^f

Domestic
 trans-
 actions.

During the time that these great events were transacting, Emanuel, who soon after his accession had married Isabella, widow of Alfonso, the late Prince of Portugal; accompanied by his Queen, set out for Spain, to which country he was invited by Ferdinand and Isabella, with the view of declaring them heirs to the Spanish monarchy. The pregnancy of the Queen of Portugal renewed the almost extinguished hopes of her parents, after the recent failure of their male issue, in the person of Don Michael, their only son. An oath of allegiance was solemnly taken to the Portuguese King and Queen, by the states of Castile, at Toledo: and though the deputies of the Aragonese not only hesitated, but even refused to acknowledge Emanuel and Isabella for their future sovereigns, without receiving the previous confirmation of all their ancient privileges, which Ferdinand had abolished; yet the birth of a son extinguished all further oppo-

^f La Clede, vol. i. p. 563—568. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 105—118. Osorio, vol. i. p. 61—66, and p. 71—83. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 43—47, and p. 50—59.

sition in that quarter. The Queen expired immediately afterwards; but the young prince was instantly proclaimed heir to the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon; as he was likewise, under certain limitations, to the crown of Portugal, on the return of Emanuel into his own dominions. The life of this infant, who appeared to be destined to reign over all the provinces between the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, together with their immense dependencies, proved of short duration. He died in the second year of his age; thus making way for the succession of the house of Austria to the Spanish monarchy, by the marriage of the Arch-duke Philip with Joanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.^e

CHAP.
IV.

1498,
1499.

Encouraged by the prosperous issue of Gama's voyage, Emanuel already prepared to send out a more numerous and powerful fleet to India. Thirteen ships were committed for that purpose to the care of Cabral; who navigating the Ethiopic Ocean, and being carried far to the westward, discovered the coast of Brasil, which forms a portion of the vast continent of South America. Landing on it, he took possession of the country, in the name of the king and crown of Portugal; after which, pursuing the track of his predecessor, he arrived safely at his destination^h. The *Samorin*

1500.

Expedition
of Cabral.

Its success.

^e Neuville, vol. ii. p. 22—30. Osorio, vol. i. p. 36—45. La Clede, vol. i. p. 556.

^h Ibid. vol. ii. p. 59, 60, and p. 67—74. Osorio, vol. i. p. 84, 85, and p. 96—105. Lafitan, vol. i. p. 120—125.

CHAP. or King of Calicut, influenced more by his
 IV. terrors, than by his inclinations, granted Cabral
 1500. permission to establish a factory there: and
 though the persons composing it, to the number of fifty, were soon afterwards massacred by the Mahometan merchants, with the connivance of the Samorin himself, this outrage was severely punished by the Portuguese commander. The intimidated princes of Cochin, and of Cannanore, situate on the coast of Malabar, contended for the honour of Emanuel's alliance. A valuable cargo, composed of the productions of India, was provided for Cabral's fleet; and he returned to Lisbon, bringing a complete confirmation of those vast commercial expectations, which Gama's successful voyage had originally opened to the Portuguese sovereign and nation.ⁱ

Transac-
 tions in
 Africa.

Notwithstanding Emanuel's prosecution of discoveries in Asia, the affairs of Africa, during the whole course of his reign, engrossed much of his attention: and even while he seemed to direct his principal force and views to the acquisition of territory in the East Indies, as well as to the establishment of a permanent commerce with that country, he scarcely ever intermitted his military exertions in Fez and Morocco. Hostilities, accompanied with various success, were almost constantly carried on by his subjects, along the coast of Barbary; and the King repeatedly made preparations for

ⁱ Laftau, vol. i. p. 125—139 Osorio, vol. i. p. 105—121.
 Neuville, vol. ii. p. 75—85.

passing over in person, like various of his predecessors, and leading his troops against the Moors^k. Nor would the marriage which he contracted with Mary, Princess of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, and younger sister to his first wife Isabella, have formed an impediment sufficiently powerful, to prevent the completion of his design, if motives of a political nature had not interposed to suspend its execution. The Venetians, who from their position at the head of the Adriatic, their insular possessions in the Levant, and their naval strength, were justly regarded as the bulwark of Christendom in that age; menaced by Bajazet the Second, Emperor of the Turks, implored the aid of the King of Portugal. Thirty ships were immediately dispatched by Emanuel to their assistance: and though the combined fleets performed no memorable action, they preserved to the republic of Venice, her dominions in Greece, as well as those in the Mediterranean; thus compelling Bajazet to postpone his plans of conquest, to a more favourable occasion.¹

C H A P.
IV.

1500.

1501.

Gama, meanwhile, in consequence of the orders of his sovereign, prepared again to revisit India, at the head of a powerful squadron; and the same brilliant success which had attended his first voyage of discovery, accompanied him in this second expedition of

1502.

Second
voyage of
Gama.

^k Neuville, vol. ii. p. 61—66. Osorio, vol. i. p. 86—94.

¹ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 61, and p. 65, 66. Osorio, vol. i. p. 85, 86, and p. 87, 88.

CHAP. conquest. Though the commerce of Asia
 IV. formed the primary object of the Portuguese
 1502. princes and people, yet the acquisition of territory or of establishments on the continent of Africa, evidently entered into their contemplation, and constituted a subordinate pursuit. The western coast of that vast portion of the earth, north and south of the equinoctial line, from Negroland down to Benguela, had been already subjected or colonized. They now transferred their views to the eastern shore of Africa, particularly to the part which lies opposite the island of Madagascar. It may justly excite some surprize, that they appear not to have considered the Cape of Good Hope itself as deserving their attention: but the extreme poverty and brutality of the natives, probably discouraged the Portuguese from forming any factory on that promontory, assailed by tempests, and difficult of approach. Gama proceeded to a less savage region, where the vicinity of the Red Sea, of Arabia, and of India, had somewhat humanized the aboriginal inhabitants, and where many valuable articles of consumption or of exchange might be procured. The kingdom of Quiloa, situated on the eastern coast of southern Africa, was reduced to the obedience of Portugal, and rendered tributary; while factories were settled at the neighbouring cities of Mozambique and Sofala. Arriving in the Indian Seas, he captured a vessel belonging to the Mammeluke Sultan of Egypt, defeated the Samorin of Calicut

His exploits in India.

Calicut in repeated naval engagements, and cannonaded his capital. The King of Cannanore, another of the Malabar chiefs, awed by such an example, sued for Emanuel's alliance; and Gama entered into the closest connexions of policy and commerce with the Prince of Cochin, whose unbounded devotion to the Portuguese nation, impelled him to make every sacrifice for its attainment. Gama's return to Lisbon was marked with the same triumphant festivity, which his former arrival had occasioned in that capital.^m

CHAP.
IV.
1502.

Fortune seemed at this time to combine with the valour and energy exhibited by the Portuguese, in aiding them to lay the foundations of that extensive empire, which they subsequently attained in Asia. The Samorin of Calicut having invaded the dominions of Cochin, was on the point of inflicting the most exemplary vengeance on the ally of Emanuel. Abandoned even by his European friends, who deserted him in his distress, he found protection in the desperate bravery, and consummate military skill of Edward Pacheco, a Portuguese officer of inferior rank, who, assisted by a few of his countrymen, maintained a long and successful conflict against all the fleets and armies of the Samorin. That Prince was ultimately vanquished, after incredible exertions on his part, which Pacheco sustained with undaunted in-

1503,
1504.

Samorin of
Calicut,
vanquish-
ed.

^m Lafitau, vol. i. p. 139—152. Osorio, vol. i. p. 121, 122, and p. 130—138. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 85—98.

trepidity;

CHAP. trepidity; while the attempt to subvert Emanuel's power on the coast of Malabar, only served to add new lustre to his name and arms.ⁿ

IV.
 1503,
 1504. Already he began to regard the rich Peninsula of Indostan, as forming a dependancy of his crown; and Francis Almeyda, a nobleman of the highest rank, was sent out in the following year, accompanied by a naval and military force, to assume the government of those extensive and fertile regions, with the title and dignity of Viceroy^o. It is curious to reflect, that scarcely six years elapsed between the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope to India, and this assumption of political power by the Portuguese princes. So rapid is the progress, and such the ascendant of the European energies of mind, over the Asiatic character. We have seen within the last sixty years, the same scenes acted in Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel, which were performed under Emanuel, on the shore of Malabar, three centuries ago. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the Portuguese, the Samorin, unable to oppose to them, himself, any sufficient barrier, called on Campson Gauri, Sultan of Egypt, to aid him in repelling such formidable invaders. That Prince was not inattentive to the summons. Their common attachment to the Mahometan faith, as well as every motive of private safety and interest, induced him to

Attempts
of the Ori-
ental
princes, to
overturn
the Portu-
guese em-
pire.

ⁿ Lafitau, vol. i. p. 153—195. Osorio, vol. i. p. 143—152, and p. 163—167, and p. 179—207. Neuville, vol. i. p. 118—132.

^o Lafitau, vol. i. p. 205.

comply

comply with the Samorin's request. An alliance was formed between them, the avowed object of which was to limit the conquests of Emanuel: nor ought it to be forgotten that the Venetians, unmindful of the succour so recently extended to them by him, joined the confederacy, and sent the most effectual support to the Egyptian Sultan. Terrified at the inevitable consequences which they foresaw must result from the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, by laying open the lucrative commerce with the East, so long exclusively carried on by themselves; Venice from that instant regarded Portugal as her deadliest foe.^p

C H A P.
IV.
1505.

During these transactions in Asia, the internal government of Emanuel was marked by some calamitous or disgraceful events, though it was not disturbed by any foreign hostilities. The birth of a prince, who afterwards succeeded to the throne by the name of John the Third, diffused universal satisfaction; but the demonstrations of national joy were damped by a contagious distemper and famine, which desolated the capital and the country. Earthquakes, to which Portugal in every period of its history, seems to have been peculiarly subject; and which appear to have equalled in violence those awful shocks, with which that kingdom has been afflicted in the last century, augmented the ravages caused by the plague.^q

Events in
Portugal.

Earth-
quakes.

^p Neuville, vol. i. p. 137—140. Osorio, vol. i. p. 215—220.

^q Ibid, vol. i. p. 85, and p. 89, and p. 143.

CHAP. Bigotry and ferocity bursting the fetters of law,
 IV. exercised the most unrelenting barbarity upon
 1505. the unfortunate Jews, who were massacred at
 Massacre of the Lisbon, during one of those paroxysms of po-
 Jews. pular fury, common in every age. Emanuel,
 it is true, severely punished the authors of the
 commotion, and even deprived the metropolis
 of all its immunities. Yet, such was the san-
 guinary or fanatical spirit of the times, that
 only three years afterwards, similar, and even
 greater cruelties, were exercised against the
 Jews; who, to the number of four thousand,
 were slaughtered by the people, though they had
 made open profession of Christianity, and lived
 under the protection of the laws, civil, and re-
 ligious. More than three centuries earlier,
 under Richard the First and John, similar atro-
 cities had been committed, as we know, among
 ourselves, in London, and in York: but the
 reign of Henry the Seventh, however despotic,
 rapacious, and tyrannical, is not stained by such
 revolting enormities. ^r

1506, These domestic scenes of anarchy and dis-
 1507. grace, did not however retard the prosecution
 Conduct of of Emanuel's views and conquests beyond the
 Almeyda. Cape of Good Hope. Almeyda, after ravag-
 ing or subjecting the eastern coast of Africa
 in the southern hemisphere, through near
 twenty degrees of latitude; continuing his voy-
 age to India, constructed forts on various parts
 of the Malabar shore, favourable to his object

^r Osorio, vol. i. p. 224—227. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 143—145, and
 p. 188, 189. La Clede, vol. i. p. 579.

of retaining the country in subjection. The Prince of Cochin having acknowledged himself tributary to Portugal, publickly received his crown, as a donation from the hand of the Viceroy. Every effort made by the Samorin, with a view to repel the invaders of his dominions, proved not merely ineffectual, but accelerated his final subjugation. He was repulsed by the obstinate valour of Britto, from before the fortress of Cannanore which he had long besieged, and had even reduced to the last extremities of famine. Wearied at length with so many unsuccessful struggles, he solicited and obtained peace from Almeyda.^s

CHAP.

VI.

1506,

1507.

The Portugueze arms nevertheless, soon afterwards sustained a temporary defeat, from the powerful combination of the Sultan of Egypt and the Samorin; to whom was added another Mahometan sovereign, Mahmud, King of Cambay. A numerous fleet, on board of which were embarked fifteen hundred Mammelukes, sailing out of the Red Sea, arrived before the city of Diu in Guzurat, where they were joined by Mahmud's admiral. Confident from their superiority of force, they ventured to attack the Viceroy's son, Laurence Almeyda, who lay at anchor with a squadron in the harbour of Chaul, upon the coast of Malabar. After a long and desperate combat, maintained under every disadvantage, the young Almeyda being killed, and his vessel sunk, the remain-

1508.

Defeat of the Portugueze, on the coast of Malabar.

^s Lafitau, vol. i. p. 212—238. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 172—178.

ing

CHAP. IV. 1508. ing ships were compelled to abandon precipitately the scene of action. The Viceroy severely revenged the disgrace, in the subsequent year, by a signal victory which he obtained under the walls of Diu; where the combined fleets being totally overcome, the King of Cambay's admiral was reduced to accept terms of peace dictated by Almeyda.^c

Arrival of
Albu-
querque.

His great
qualities,
and pro-
jects.

Eminent as we must admit to have been the civil and military qualities displayed by the Viceroy, a more illustrious person, and of a higher intellectual order, was about to appear on the theatre of Asia. Alfonso Albuquerque, whom Emanuel had sent to succeed to the government of his newly acquired territories in the east, possessed endowments which have equalled his reputation with those of the greatest characters of antiquity. Capable of forming, and of executing the most daring resolutions, the solidity of his judgment prevented him from undertaking any enterprize, to which his forces would probably be found unequal. Ardent for personal glory, and desirous of founding his fame on the aggrandizement of the Portuguese nation in the eastern hemisphere, he acted uniformly and exclusively to the accomplishment of that object. While placed under the orders of Almeyda, and stationed as the commander of a little squadron cruizing near the mouth of the Red Sea, his vast mind conceived the project of at-

^c Lafitau, vol. i. p. 299—313, and p. 318—325. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 198—203, and p. 243—252.

tacking

tacking and subjecting Ormus. This celebrated city, to which Milton has beautifully alluded in the opening to the second book of his "Paradise Lost;" situated on a small and sterile island at the entrance of the gulph of Persia, but which constituted the center of the Arabian and Indian commerce at the commencement of the sixteenth century; was then under the immediate dominion of a prince named Zeyfadin, tributary to Ismael, Sophy of Persia.

C H A P.
IV.
1508.

Quitting therefore without orders, his station, where no object presented itself worthy of his courage or enterprize, Albuquerque coasted the eastern shore of Arabia; took, and plundered the city of Muscat; and arriving before Ormus, summoned the King to put himself instantly under the protection of Emanuel. After a long negotiation, which gave Zeyfadin time to assemble a naval and military force, Atar, his first minister, haughtily rejected the proposition, and prepared for resistance: but, vanquished in a general engagement, he submitted to the conqueror. The Portuguese commander having fixed the amount of an annual tribute to be imposed on the King of Ormus, began the construction of a citadel, which might secure his future obedience. The murmurs of his own soldiery, together with their impatience of subjection, frustrated nevertheless his intentions; and by the delays which intervened in the completion of the fortress, Atar was enabled to renew hostilities. Albuquerque, reduced to the necessity of again attack-

He lays
siege to
Ormus.

C H A P. attacking the city, was on the point of sub-
 IV. jecting it a second time, by famine, when three
 1508. of his captains basely abandoning him, sailed
 with their ships for India.

Is com-
 pelled to
 abandon
 the at-
 tempt.

Albuquer-
 que is ap-
 pointed
 Governor
 of India.

Thus baffled anew, he retired; and having wintered at the island of Socotra, in the straits of Babelmandel, near the mouth of the Red Sea, he returned as soon as the season permitted, before Ormus. But Atar, profiting of the absence of the Portugueze, and having already completed the citadel, defied his utmost efforts. Reserving himself therefore for a more favourable juncture to recommence the attack, he set sail for Cannanore on the coast of Malabar; and at his arrival in that port, received the royal commission, constituting him governor of India in the place of Almeyda^u. Peremptory as were the orders of the court upon this point, Almeyda refused compliance with them, and even proceeded to acts of violence or of resistance against Albuquerque. The Portugueze being divided into two factions, by the disunion of their chiefs, the most fatal consequences must have ensued to the affairs of Emanuel; if the contest had not been soon happily terminated by the voluntary surrender of the supreme command on the part of Almeyda, and by his subsequent departure for Europe.

^u Neuville, vol. ii. p. 215—242. Osorio, vol. i. p. 316—341. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 269—291, and p. 314—316. La Clede, vol. i. p. 589—589.

The commencement of the new governor's administration was nevertheless unfortunate, though destined in its progress to become the scene of so much success. From his deference to the advice of Coutigno, who had mediated an accommodation between him and his predecessor; having been induced to engage in an enterprize against the city of Calicut, they landed their forces, and became masters of the Samorin's capital and palace, after a faint resistance. But the jealousy or rashness of Coutigno, in contempt of Albuquerque's remonstrances, proved fatal to himself, and destructive to the expedition. He fell in the action, and the Portugueze were compelled to retreat to their ships with considerable loss*. This disaster was, however, speedily obliterated by the memorable conquest of Goa. The city and island of that name were then subject to Sabagee, a Hindoo prince or Rajah who had repeatedly manifested dispositions the most hostile to the Portugueze. Its central situation on the western coast of India, in the province of the Decan, the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and above all, its commodious harbour;—seemed to point it out as a proper capital of the empire, which Albuquerque projected to attain and to subject for his sovereign. The immediate government of the place was vested in Idal Cawn, who had

CHAP.
IV.
1508.
Unsuccessful
attack
of Calicut.

1510.
Siege, and
capture of
Goa.

* Neuville, vol. ii. p. 243—255, and 226—259. Osorio, vol. i. p. 255—363. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 317—341.

C H A P. taken every precaution for its security and preservation: but the Viceroy, whom obstacles
 IV. only stimulated and impelled, caused the two
 1510. forts constructed at the entrance of the river, to be attacked at the same time. They were rapidly carried, and Albuquerque profiting of the consternation spread in Goa, entered the city by capitulation. Having taken such measures for its defence and protection, as the nature of the exigency admitted, he instantly declared his intention of constituting it the seat of the viceroys, and the metropolis of the Portuguese acquisitions in India.†

February.
 It is made
 the metro-
 polis of
 the Portu-
 guese con-
 quests.

Besieged
 by Idal
 Cawn.

While he was thus beneficially engaged, Idal Cawn assembling a body of forces, prepared to deprive him of his new conquest. The native inhabitants, ashamed of the late hasty surrender of so important a possession, aided their ancient sovereign; and the Portuguese officers, from a dread of the severe discipline for which their commander was distinguished, acted either with indifference or with treachery. Idal Cawn having, after a sanguinary action, landed on the island of Goa, Albuquerque retreated into the city; and when driven from thence by the pressure of superior numbers, he made a long and obstinate defence in the citadel. Yielding however at length to the irresistible united operation of famine and of force, he quitted the place, and

Evacuated
 by Albu-
 querque.

† Lafitau, vol. i. p. 361—372. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 269—272.
 Osorio, vol. ii. p. 1—5.

retired

retired to his vessels, abandoning his late acquisition. New and greater embarrassments attended him on the element of the water, from want of provisions: and though he extricated himself in some measure, by storming and retaking from the enemy, the two forts situate at the mouth of the river; yet the disobedience of his officers, the mutiny of his troops, and the severity of the Monsoon on that coast, compelled him reluctantly to desist from the enterprize, and to repair for supplies to Cannanore. But, no sooner had he received reinforcements from Europe, than returning before Goa, he attacked the place anew, and carried it by storm. While his vast and active mind already projected or anticipated further conquests, he secured the acquisition which he had made, by every wise precaution, and by extending the most parental protection to the newly-subjected people. The splendor of his military achievements, and the high reputation which he had so justly attained, attracted universal consideration; and he received embassies from almost all the princes of the Peninsula, to congratulate him on his late success.²

CHAP.
IV.
1510.

Retakes
Goa.

Malacca might be esteemed at that time, one of the most wealthy and commercial cities of the Peninsula of India beyond the Ganges; its favorable position, nearly midway between

1511.
Enterprize
against
Malacca.

² Neuville, vol. i. p. 273—287, and p. 295—305. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 5—20, and p. 25—34. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 373—408.

CHAP. Arabia and the Molucca Islands, attracting as
 IV. to a common centre, the commodities of China,
 15 II. Japan, Borneo, and of all the eastern Archipelago, which were there exchanged for the productions of Indostan. Mahmud, a prince who had shaken off his allegiance to the King of Siam, then reigned at Malacca; and Sequeira, at the head of a small squadron of Portuguese ships, having concluded a treaty with him, had by his permission established a factory in the place. But, the same spirit of commercial rivalry, which had produced the original misunderstanding between Gama and the Samorin of Calicut, was successfully exerted by the Mahometan merchants, to alienate the King of Malacca, from his engagements with Sequeira. Regardless of the faith which he had pledged, he attempted to massacre the Portuguese commander, and to destroy his vessels. The plot was only discovered in the moment before its intended execution; and Sequeira, unable to resent so flagrant an act of perfidy, having quitted the harbour, returned with his ships to Lisbon.*

Motives of just resentment against Mahmud, concurring therefore with his passion for glory, in the resolution which Albuquerque formed of undertaking the conquest of Malacca, he determined to carry it into immediate execution. The place was indeed destitute of fortifications; but, garrisoned by near thirty thousand troops,

* Lefitau, vol. i. p. 350—358. Osorio, vol. i. p. 268—279.

Albuquerque arrives
before the
place.

Capture of
Malacca.

and provided with every article necessary for a long defence. Regardless of these impediments, which would have arrested an ordinary mind, the Viceroy quitted Goa, the government of which he confided to Rabelo. Embarking at the head of a small squadron, having under his command scarcely eight hundred Portuguese, together with about two hundred native Indian soldiers, he descended the Malabar coast, crossed the bay of Bengal, and arrived before Malacca. After a fruitless negotiation, in which Mahmud betrayed his former duplicity, Albuquerque had recourse to arms. His first attempt proved so unsuccessful, that he was under the necessity of retreating to his ships: but having renewed the attack, he entered the place, sword in hand; and though the King made a vigorous resistance, he was finally driven from his capital. The city was abandoned to the avidity of the soldiers, during three days; and the riches found in it, are said to have exceeded even those which fell into the hands of the Portuguese at Goa. We may form some estimate of their amount, when we are informed that the fifth part of the booty reserved for Emanuel, amounted to two hundred thousand Cruzadoes of gold; a sum not very short of fifty thousand pounds sterling.^b

Albuquerque, far from relaxing in his efforts on account of this first success, instantly began the construction of a citadel which might awe

^b Osorio, vol. ii. p. 47—60. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 409—424.

CHAP. the inhabitants; while he conciliated their affection by regulations, equally just and beneficial in their tendency. Not content with making internal dispositions for defence, he marched a body of troops against Mahmud, who had fortified himself at the distance of eight leagues from Malacca. Having surprized him, that unfortunate prince was again routed, and compelled to seek for safety in a precipitate flight. An unsuccessful attempt to produce a revolt, and to introduce into the city, Aladin, the son of Mahmud, was punished by the Viceroy, who having seized the principal conspirator, caused him to be beheaded. Extending his views with his conquests, three vessels, under the command of Abreu, were next dispatched, in order to discover, and if possible, to open a commerce with the Molucca Islands: while Albuquerque, having committed the government of Malacca to one of his officers named Britto, and omitted no precaution for its preservation, which ability could dictate, embarked again for the coast of Malabar. During the course of his voyage, he was shipwrecked upon the inhospitable shore of Sumatra, then scarcely explored: his vessel, laden with the precious spoils of his late conquest, was swallowed up in the waves, and he himself narrowly escaped from death.^c

Albuquerque returns to India.

Siege of Goa, by Idal Cawn.

Meanwhile, his short absence from Goa, however glorious and beneficial it might be

^c Lafitau, vol. i. p. 425—434; and p. 447—449. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 354—363.

esteemed

esteemed for his country, had almost proved fatal to that valuable settlement. No sooner had he engaged in the distant expedition against Malacca, than Idal Cawn availing himself of the favourable occasion for recovering his lost possessions, sent a considerable military force to form the siege of Goa. Rabelo, the governor, repelled the invaders for a short period of time: but having at length effected their landing on the island, they soon obliged him to retire into the city; and his precipitate valour subsequently betrayed him into a snare laid for him by the enemy, in which he perished. Vasconcellos, who was elected to fill his place, proved himself worthy so honourable a distinction. He not only repulsed the forces of Idal Cawn in the breach, but sustained the severest attacks with firmness, and surmounted during several months, all the horrors of famine. A supply of provisions being at length procured, the enemy, baffled in their attempts to become masters of the place, retired from its immediate vicinity; and taking post at Benasterin, the spot where the island communicates with the continent of India, they left the city itself in repose^d. Nor was Malacca, after the departure of Albuquerque, less exposed to every effort of internal treachery, aided by external attack. Repeated exertions were made by the adherents of Mah-

Enemy repulsed.

1512.
Ineffectual attacks of Malacca.

^d Neuville, vol. ii. p. 338—351. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 334—447. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 63—72.

C H A P.

IV.

1512.

mud, in order to reduce it under the dominion of its ancient sovereign. Fleets and armies besieged, pressed, and even reduced the place to extremities. But the spirit of the Viceroy survived in his delegates; and such was the unconquerable character of the Portuguese in that age, that danger and difficulty seemed only to call out their resources, and to augment their courage. Britto, who commanded in the city, and Andrada, to whom the charge of the fleet was committed, defeated and dispersed the numerous forces of the enemy.^c

1513.

Albuquerque having been strengthened by considerable reinforcements from Europe, at length prepared to revisit Goa; where he was received on his arrival, as its guardian genius and protector. The siege of Benasterin being immediately formed, the place was closely invested, notwithstanding the vigorous defence made by the general of Idal Cawn, who repulsed the assailants in their attempt to carry the fort by storm: but a breach having been at length effected, the enemy surrendered on terms of capitulation. Benasterin was finally evacuated, and Idal Cawn appeared to have lost all prospect of recovering his late possessions. So important an acquisition, by which his preceding conquests became in a great degree secured, impressed the princes of Asia with astonishment, while it elevated Albuquerque to an almost unequalled point of personal glory.

Capture of
Benasterin.

^c Lafitau, vol. i. p. 454—473. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 80—83.

Goa,

Goa, like Calcutta in the present century, resembled the residence of a great monarch: ambassadors from the Kings of Persia, Cam-
 CHAP. IV.
 1513.
 bay, Visiapour, Ormus, and Abyssinia, came to offer alliance, or to present congratulation. Lesser princes, from various parts of Indostan, sent tribute to Emanuel, and did homage to the crown of Portugal. The Viceroy, while he betrayed the most refined policy, as well as the utmost conciliation, in his treatment of the different sovereigns or ministers; yet delayed making any conclusive treaty with them, or entering into definitive stipulations of any kind, till he should return from a new expedition which he meditated, and for which object he made immediate preparations.^f

This enterprize, which it appears, he undertook in consequence of positive orders from the court of Lisbon, rather than from the dictates of his own judgment, was principally directed against the Sultan of Egypt: and if we except the attack upon Calicut, it was the only unfortunate attempt in which Albuquerque engaged, after his nomination to the supreme command in the east. Setting sail from Goa at the head of a powerful fleet, he steered his course across the Indian Ocean, for the mouth of the Red Sea. Arabia Felix, which, from its remote and almost inaccessible situation, protected as it is to the north by nearly impass-

Expedition
 of Albu-
 querre to
 the Red
 Sea.

^f Lafitau, vol. i. p. 473—482. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 369—375.
 Osorio, vol. ii. p. 84—89.

C H A P.

IV.

1513.

Unsuccess-
ful attempt
upon
Aden.

able sandy deserts, successfully resisted the Roman legions, when they had penetrated into all the surrounding countries; seemed to be on the point of submitting to the arms of Portugal. The too impetuous valour of his officers and troops, constituted the principal cause of their repulse before the city of Aden, situated near the Straits of Babelmandel; the walls of which place they attempted to scale. They even entered it, and drove the enemy from the works: but, neglecting to use the requisite precautions for securing their prize, they were in turn reduced to fly with precipitation. Albuquerque having retreated to his ships, continued his voyage therefore between the Arabian and Abyssinian coasts, ascending towards Jedda and Suez. The difficulties attending the navigation of the Red Sea, with which the Portugueze were then wholly unacquainted, and which, even in the present age are such as to render it exceedingly perilous; the murmurs of his soldiery, and the want of every kind of refreshment, on the sandy shores of that dangerous gulph; compelled him nevertheless without meeting any enemy, to abandon the project. Returning before Aden, and finding that it had been put into a state of complete defence, he reluctantly desisted from renewing his attack: nor was he more successful in his exertions to obtain permission for building a citadel at Diu in Guzurat. Instructed by the recent example of Idal Cawn, and of the Samorin of Calicut, the King of Cambay rejected

rejected every offer and solicitation for the establishment of a settlement in his dominions.*

CHAP.
IV.
1513.

His enemies, meanwhile, at the court of Lisbon, who were occupied in unremitting endeavours to procure his recal, by awakening the jealousy of Emanuel, or by misrepresenting the conduct of Albuquerque, had nearly succeeded in their object. To such a degree did these calumnies operate on the mind of his sovereign, that peremptory directions were transmitted from Europe, enjoining the evacuation of Goa, and its restitution to Idal Cawn; as being an acquisition more onerous and expensive, than productive or beneficial to Portugal. But the council, to whom the governor necessarily communicated the royal mandate, possessed sufficient magnanimity to refuse compliance with an order so contrary to the interests of their common master, and the execution of which must have been attended with the subversion of his rising empire in Asia. The failure of the enterprize against Egypt and Arabia, however to be regretted in itself, had neither diminished Albuquerque's active exertions to serve his country, nor had injured his reputation with the princes of India. One of the principal among them, the Samorin of Calicut, renouncing the alliance of the Egyptian Sultan, from which he derived no adequate protection, declared himself tributary to Emanuel, and voluntarily permitted the Vice-

* Neuville, vol. ii. p. 399—403. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 112—118.

CHAP. roy to construct a citadel in his capital. The
 IV. neighbouring princes of Cochin and Cannanore
 1513. acted with equal submission; and the greater
 part of the coast of Malabar, extending from
 Goa, south to Cape Comorin, at the extremity
 of the peninsula, was already reduced to the
 obedience of Portugal.ⁿ

1514,
 1515.
 Enterprize
 against
 Ormus.

In order to complete the great achievements
 of Albuquerque, it only remained for him to
 chastise the King of Ormus, and to add so
 important a conquest to his other territorial ac-
 quisitions. The citadel which he had there
 begun, and which was partly constructed, had
 not only been seized on and occupied by Zey-
 fadin; but the Portugueze were even refused
 permission to establish a factory in the place,
 for purposes of commerce. Such was, besides,
 the indignant recollection retained by the Vice-
 roy, of the desertion of his officers, and the
 consequent necessity of his desisting from the
 siege of Ormus, in the very moment when it
 appeared ready to fall into his hands; that he
 had religiously adhered to the vow which he
 then swore, never to cut his beard till he should
 have taken vengeance for the affront. Stimu-
 lated by these personal, as well as public consi-
 derations, he set sail for the gulf of Persia, hav-
 ing under his command a fleet of twenty-seven
 ships, and a great body of forces. His arrival
 before Ormus spread such terror, that the new
 King, Torun-Sha, who had succeeded to his

ⁿ Lafitau, vol. i. p. 483—493. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 119, 120.

brother

brother Zeyfadin, after a short negotiation surrendered the citadel, and displayed the banner of Portugal over his palace. Hamed, his first minister, endeavoured to excite a commotion, and to assassinate the Viceroy; but being anticipated by the vigilance of Albuquerque, he was seized, and instantly put to death. This stroke of vigour was followed by the demand on his part, of all the artillery contained in the city; a requisition which met with instant obedience. Ormus became from that instant subject to Portugal, and the King consented to receive his crown from the bounty of Emanuel.¹

CH A P.
IV.

1514,
1515.

Capture of
Ormuz, by
Albu-
querque.

But, the splendid career of Albuquerque drew towards its close. A dysentery with which he was attacked, insensibly wasting his strength, soon reduced him to extremity. Having however with his accustomed energy of mind, made every provision for the tranquillity and security of his late conquest, he embarked from the mouth of the Persian Gulf, for Goa. Scarcely had he entered the Indian ocean, when a vessel, which had been dispatched for the purpose from Diu, brought him intelligence that Emanuel had superceded him; that Soarez, his successor, was already arrived; and that many of his personal enemies were named to posts of eminence. His great mind sunk at first, under so unexpected and unmerited a dis-

1515.
Recal, ill-
ness, and
death of
Albu-
querque.

¹ Osorio, vol. ii. p. 162—173. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 439—449. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 509—514.

grace.

C H A P. grace. Like Cardinal Wolsey, and the Earl of
 IV. Strafford, he is said to have burst into severe re-
 1515. proaches against the ingratitude of princes; fre-
 quently repeating, "To the tomb, unhappy old
 "man! it is time! To the tomb!" But, soon re-
 covering his accustomed fortitude, he dictated
 with composure and dignity, his last letter to the
 sovereign, whose power and dominions he had
 so greatly augmented in the course of only six
 years. Having issued every necessary order of
 a public nature, without omitting the most
 minute detail, he then calmly expected his
 final dissolution, which took place near the
 mouth of the harbour of Goa, where he ex-
 pired in the sixty-third year of his age.*

December.
 His cha-
 racter and
 exploits.

Such were the actions of this extraordinary
 and illustrious person, as to supercede the ne-
 cessity of attempting accurately to delineate his
 character. His conquests extended from the
 entrance of the Persian Gulf, eastward to the
 remote islands of Java and the Moluccas: nor
 are we less penetrated with admiration, at the
 rapidity with which he effected them; so short
 a time having elapsed between the commence-
 ment, and the termination of his government.
 His love of justice, his contempt of injuries,
 and magnanimous superiority to revenge, ex-
 cited among every class of people, affection
 mingled with veneration. The talents of Al-
 buquerque were equally adapted to the cabinet,
 as to the field; and he never appeared in a more

* Osorio, vol. ii. p. 193—196. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 459—465.
 Lafitau, vol. i. p. 515—518.

elevated point of view, than as a legislator, cultivating the arts of tranquillity and peace. His death diffused universal sorrow among Asiatics, as well as Europeans; and the native inhabitants of Indostan held his memory in such reverence, that they were long accustomed to assemble at his tomb, and to invoke his shade for protection and redress, against the exactions or oppressions of his successors. If in some instances he appears to have sullied the lustre of his achievements, by acts of cruelty, or at least of extreme severity; yet on a close examination, it will be found that even these measures were dictated by an imperious necessity: his nature was mild, gentle, and beneficent. Emanuel can scarcely be justified, either as a sovereign or as a man, for recalling such a subject: but, his fame and victories had raised him to so vast an eminence, that his enemies were enabled to infuse suspicions of his aspiring to absolute independence. Portugal produced no man, in an age so fertile of heroes, who equalled, or can be placed in competition with him. Neither Cortez nor Pizarro, who subjected Mexico and Peru to Spain, surmounted equal impediments. Montezuma and Atabalipa were enemies of a very inferior description to those whom Albuquerque vanquished at Goa, and at Malacca. Perhaps Clive might better sustain a comparison with him. At his death, some of the richest maritime cities of Asia, a vast tract of sea-coast, situate in the finest latitudes of the earth; numerous princes, and many millions of industrious

CHAP. dustrious subjects, were reduced to the obedience of Emanuel. The philosopher and the historian cannot reflect without emotion, that his end was accelerated by disgrace, and embittered by the privation of that power, which he himself had founded and cemented by the greatest exertions. His fame alone arose above the reach of malignity. Emanuel, sensible when too late, of his error in having dismissed Albuquerque, testified his concern at that event, by the protection which he extended to the Viceroy's natural son, whom, when expiring, he had recommended to his sovereign.¹

Domestic
trans-
actions.

During the interval of time which elapsed between the departure of Albuquerque from Portugal, and the period of his death, the domestic transactions of Emanuel's reign and government afford little matter for historical narration, and still less subject of enlarged reflexion or observation. The war with the Moors of Fez and Morocco continued almost unremittingly, with various success: but the hostilities between the two countries, merely depredatory, were marked by few interesting events. Arzyla, a town which had been besieged by the enemy, was relieved; and Azamor was added to the number of Emanuel's fortresses on the coast of Barbary: but, every attempt made to extend his dominion into the

¹ La Clede, vol. i. p. 608, 609. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 196, 197. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 518—522. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 466.

interior

interior provinces of Africa, towards Mount Atlas, was defeated by the obstinate valour and resistance of the Mahometans. The kingdom of Portugal enjoyed profound, and nearly uninterrupted repose. Wealth flowed into the Tagus, from the extremities of Asia; while the Indian fleets began regularly to transmit to Lisbon, all the valuable productions of the East, which had been for successive centuries imported by the Venetians. The court of Emanuel had already become one of the most magnificent in Europe; and the respect in which he was held by foreign princes, completed the felicity of his reign.^m

C H A P.

IV.

1515.

Felicity of Portugal.

The glory of the Portuguese name and arms in India, sustained nevertheless, as might have been foreseen, a temporary eclipse by the death of Albuquerque. Soarez, the new governor, who succeeded to his power and dignity, inherited neither his talents nor his reputation. That grandeur of design, and vigour of execution, which characterized the late government, having become extinct, irresolution and disgrace attended every enterprize. The princes of Asia, who soon perceived the change, began to display symptoms of alienation, or indications of open hostility. Even the Portuguese themselves, no longer conducted by a superior mind, sunk into inactivity, or sullied the lustre of their past achievements. The injudicious pertinacity with which the court of Lisbon

1516—

1518.

Events in Asia.

^m Neuville, vol. ii. p. 287—289, and 351—354, and 376—393, and 405—420. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 120—143, and p. 173—187.

CHAP. IV. prosecuted the attempt against Egypt, as well as the reduction of the city of Aden in Arabia, conducted further to involve their affairs in disgrace and confusion. By order of Emanuel, Soarez again undertook an expedition up the Red Sea, having under his command forty-seven ships, and a great body of forces. The experiment not only proved unsuccessful; but during his absence, the crimes and temerity of Montroi, to whom the government of Goa was committed, had nearly involved the settlement in complete destruction. His desire of taking revenge upon an individual whom he had previously injured, having prompted him to violate the peace subsisting with Idal Cawn; that prince defeated him, invested Benasterin, and might have recovered Goa itself, the garrison of which had been much diminished by Soarez, previous to his Egyptian expedition, if timely supplies had not fortunately arrived from Europe. Malacca, attacked in a similar manner by the King of Bantam, a powerful prince of the island of Java, was exposed to equal, or even greater danger, and had repeatedly suffered the last extremities of famine: but the place was saved by the exertions of the garrison, till Meneses coming to its relief, compelled the enemy to retire. On the other hand, the Portuguese, who had already established themselves within the limits of the Chinese empire, so jealous in the admission of Europeans, were driven out by the insolence and misconduct of their commander. The reduction of the island of Ceylon,

lon, so important from its exclusive production of the article of cinnamon, formed nevertheless, some counterpoise to these numerous misfortunes which distinguished the administration of Soarez.ⁿ

C H A P.
IV.

1516—

1518.

Reduction
of Ceylon.

1519.

Rejection
of the offer,
of Ma-
gellan.

We may consider it as one of the most singular circumstances of Emanuel's reign, that a prince who so well knew how to select, and to reward talents, should nevertheless have driven from his dominions, a man inferior neither to Gama, nor to Albuquerque, in ability to serve his country. Ferdinand Magellan was a native of Portugal; but withdrew into Castile, disgusted with the refusal of an inconsiderable addition to his appointments, which he had experienced from the court of Lisbon. Having, like his illustrious precursor Columbus, formed the most decided and judicious opinions relative to the formation and figure of the planet of the earth, he undertook to conduct the Spaniards by a new, and an opposite course, from Europe to the Molucca islands; which valuable possessions he asserted, were situated beyond the imaginary "line of demarcation," by which the popes had divided the eastern and western Hemispheres, between the Kings of Spain and Portugal. Cardinal Ximenes, a minister whose enlarged mind enabled him to conceive, and whose attention to the glory and interests of his sovereign, induced him to profit of the

ⁿ Neuville, vol. ii. p. 467—470. and p. 482—495, and p. 497—513. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 225—239, and p. 243—255. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 523—560.

C H A P.

IV.

1519.

He enters
the Pacific
Ocean.

offers of Magellan, was then Regent ; having been so appointed by Ferdinand the Catholic, during the minority of Charles the Fifth. He hesitated not to accept the proposal, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the court of Lisbon, Ximenes sent him out, at the head of five vessels. Magellan coasting the shore of South America, discovered the celebrated Straits near Cape Horn, which bear his name ; penetrated to the fifty-fifth degree of southern latitude ; underwent and surmounted the greatest dangers, in his passage between Patagonia and Terra del Fuego ; entered, and first navigated the vast Pacific Ocean, which Columbus himself could never effect ; attained to its furthest extremity, and having landed in one of the Ladrone islands, which constitute a portion of the Asiatic Archipelago, was there killed in an action between the natives.

In perusing the account of his arduous attempt and premature end, our reflexions involuntarily lead us to compare it with the similar fate of another celebrated navigator in our own times, Cooke ; the scene and circumstances of whose death bear a striking analogy to that of Magellan. The followers of the latter commander, did not less pursue the great object of the expedition ; and to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who little expected the appearance of such intruders, they arrived in the islands of Ternate and Tidor, two of the Moluccas, occupied by Emanuel's subjects. We cannot reflect without amazement on this fact, or contemplate

template without admiration, the genius which could first form, and afterwards execute, a project so vast, so complicated, and so hazardous, as that of circumnavigating the globe: an enterprize, which as we may see by the calamities that Anson endured, and the losses of every kind which he sustained, hardly seventy years ago, is not, even in the present age, an undertaking destitute of peril; but which, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, was capable of appalling the firmest mind. Nor can we forbear making a comparison of the exploits of Magellan, who first sailed round the earth, with the voyage of the Argonauts; the conductors of which expedition were regarded by antiquity as Demi-gods, and almost raised to divine honours, for having passed from the shores of Greece, through the Thracian Bosphorus, to Colchis, the modern Crimea. In consequence of Magellan's voyage, the Spanish crown asserted a right of sovereignty to the Moluccas; and it was not till the subsequent reign, that the Emperor Charles the Fifth, on receiving from John the Third a considerable loan of money, at a very critical juncture, consented to suspend his pretensions to those valuable islands. Columbus had taken no less severe a revenge on John the Second, for refusing to employ him in the discovery of the New World, than Magellan executed upon his successor Emanuel. °

CHAP.
IV.
1519.

Disputes
between
the crowns
of Spain
and Por-
tugal.

° Neuville, vol. ii. p. 523—530. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 265—272.
La Clede, vol. i. p. 626, 627.

CHAP.

IV.

1519—

1521.

Expedition
of Sequeira.

The government of Sequeira, who succeeded Soarez in India, proved neither more glorious nor beneficial to his country, than the administration of his predecessor. The empire of the Mammelukes in Egypt, had been recently overturned by Selim the First, Emperor of the Turks; who reduced the kingdom itself into the form of a province, after the execution of the last Sultan, Toman Bai; precisely as Augustus had done in antiquity, subsequent to the death of Cleopatra. Succeeding to the political enmities, with the dominions of the Mammeluke princes, Selim, one of the greatest sovereigns who has reigned in Turkey, prepared to attack the Portuguese acquisitions in India; and it was against the Ottoman fleet, equipping in the Egyptian port of Suez, that Sequeira principally undertook a new expedition to the head of the Arabian Gulph. Like the two preceding efforts of a similar nature made under Albuquerque and Soarez, it was accompanied with disappointment, and attended with misfortunes, resulting in a great measure from the ignorance of the Portuguese, respecting the currents and navigation of that narrow inland sea.^p

Progressive augmentation of the Portuguese power in Asia.

The procrastination and irresolution of Sequeira, proved equally fatal to another favourite measure of the court of Lisbon; that of obtaining permission, either by force or by negotiation, to construct a fort at Diu: a place which,

^p Neuville, vol. ii. p. 538—543. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 575—586. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 286—290.

from its central position, at the southern ex- CH A P.
tremity of the maritime province of Guzurat, IV.
commanding the Indian Ocean, was peculiarly
calculated for connecting Persia with Indostan, 1519—
while it might extend equal protection to Goa, 1521.
and to Ormus. Melic Jaz, who commanded in
the city under the King of Cambay, not only
rejected the Viceroy's requests, and resisted all
his attempts; but, even obtained some signal
advantages over the Portugueze themselves.
Yet, in defiance of these adverse circumstances,
Emanuel's power and territories in the east
continually augmented. An insurrection of a
serious nature, which took place in the Gulph
of Persia, and which menaced Ormus, was
happily quelled. The province of the Balag-
haut, situated on the western side of the Penin-
sula of India, and important from its vicinity
to Goa, was voluntarily ceded to Mello, go-
vernor of that city. In the island of Ceylon,
Britto vanquished the natives, who had at-
tempted to expel him from the country. Or-
mus was at length completely reduced into
subjection, after a vigorous and nearly success-
ful effort made on the part of Torun Sha, to
become master of the citadel. Coutigno, aided
by some naval forces, maintained so long a re-
sistance, that the enemy in despair abandoned
their project, and quitted the island itself.
Torun Sha was soon afterwards strangled by
his minister Hamed; and a son of Zeyfadin,
named Mahmud, being declared his successor,
concluded a peace with the Portugueze, by

Unsuccess-
ful at-
tempt to
retake
Ormus.

CHAP. which treaty he anew acknowledged himself a
 IV. vassal of Emanuel.^a

1521.
 December.
 Death,
 and cha-
 racter of
 Emanuel.

Such was the prosperous situation of affairs in Asia, at the termination of that monarch's reign, who expired at Lisbon, in the fifty-third year of his age, after a distemper of short continuance. He was surnamed the Great, and the Fortunate: titles which have rarely in the history of the world, been conferred on one man; but, to both which he seems to have had an equal pretension. If in abilities he must be considered inferior to John the Second, he far excelled that prince in virtue and benignity. His reign is not stained with the execution of a Duke of Braganza, nor by the assassination of a Duke of Viseo. In humanity, justice, liberality, and affection for his people, he is scarcely exceeded by any prince commemorated in the annals of mankind. Portugal enjoyed under his mild and equal sway, during a period of twenty-six years, a felicity unparalleled in modern times: which can only be compared with the tranquillity and happiness of Rome, under the government of the Antonines. The inferior orders of the people were peculiarly cherished and protected by Emanuel; during whose reign, it was commonly said that poverty and distress were banished from Portugal. The expressive epithet of "the Golden Age," was revived, in order to com-

Grandeur
 of Portu-
 gal.

^a Laftau, vol. i. p. 586—616. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 566—581, and p. 596—602. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 319—332.

memorate

memorate the blessings of his domestic administration and government: while the external success of his arms, the naval discoveries of Gama, and the conquests of Albuquerque, combined to elevate the Portuguese sovereign and nation, to the most envied pre-eminence among the European states. Their fleets navigated and triumphed, from Persia and Arabia, from the mouths of the Euphrates and the Indus, to the Moluccas, and the confines of China. A great tract of the continent of Africa, South, as well as North of the Equinoctial line, extending on both sides of that portion of the globe, was subjected and colonized. While Mexico and Peru were conquered by Spain, Brazil fell to the share of Portugal, and became eventually an acquisition of the highest importance; affording at the commencement of the nineteenth century, an asylum to the expatriated royal descendants of Emanuel himself. In Morocco, though his arms were not uniformly successful, Emanuel repressed and occupied the Moors, by carrying perpetual hostilities into their country. If we regard him in private life, he appears equally amiable, as he is great in his public capacity; free from personal vices, and exemplary in the discharge of every domestic duty. From the errors and weaknesses inseparably attached to humanity, he was not exempt; and his severity towards the Jews in the beginning of his reign, admits of no apology, except that general palliation which is drawn from the spirit of bigotry and per-

C H A P.
IV.
1521.

C H A P.

IV.

1521.

persecution, by which the age itself was distinguished, and from which the most beneficent disposition received a taint. Alfred, and Elizabeth, among ourselves; Louis the Twelfth, and Henry the Fourth, among the French; may successfully contest for the pre-eminence on many points of character, with Emanuel: but, on an enlarged view, he is perhaps, of all the princes who have reigned in Europe since the extinction of the Roman empire, the sovereign who possesses the highest claim to the respect, as well as to the gratitude and approbation of mankind.*

December.
Accession
of John the
Third.

The crown of Portugal having devolved by Emanuel's death, to his eldest son, John the Third, at that time only in his twentieth year; the people manifested the warmest attachment towards their new sovereign, who, by his subsequent conduct and government, justified their partiality. The maxims and the ministers of the late sovereign, continued in a great degree to conduct public affairs; and so profound was the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, that scarcely any domestic events present themselves during the first years of John, which challenge the attention of history. In this respect, his reign, and that of Antoninus Pius in antiquity, have a remarkable analogy. It is a curious fact, and almost without parallel in the annals of modern nations, that the coun-

1522.
Domestic
events.

* Neuville, vol. ii. p. 606.—608. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 358—363. La Clede, vol. i. p. 646—648. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 122, 133.

cil of state solemnly agitated the question of marrying him to Eleanor of Castile, third wife and widow of the king his father. However repugnant to all ideas of decorum, as well as subversive of the decencies of nature, so extraordinary a matrimonial union appears to us, the proposition was nevertheless strongly supported in the cabinet, by the Duke of Braganza: nor was it believed to be a proposal unpleasing to the young King himself. The indecency of the alliance, having at length caused it nevertheless to be rejected; in the following year John demanded and obtained the hand of the Princess Catherine, younger sister of Eleanor. The intermarriages of the present royal family of Portugal, equally contrary to the usages of other nations; and which have hitherto found no imitators among the crowned heads of Europe; form a striking similarity in that particular, between the Portuguese modes of thinking on these subjects, in the sixteenth, and in the eighteenth centuries.*

The vigour which had characterised Emanuel's reign, was equally manifested in many respects by his son; and Francis the First, King of France, one of the most enterprising monarchs of the age, was compelled by the remonstrances of the Portuguese ambassador at Paris, to desist from his intention of sending out a fleet to the East Indies†. But, this pro-

* La Clede, vol. i. p. 654. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 143.

† La Clede, vol. i. p. 654.

CHAP.

IV.

1521—

1523.

Transac-
tions in
Asia.Mal-admi-
nistration
of the Por-
tugueze.

tection and energy were not equally extended to Asia; where, under the administration of Edward Meneses, who had succeeded Sequeira as Viceroy, public affairs appeared rapidly hastening to decay. His venality, indolence, and supineness, produced the most ruinous consequences to his country. At Ormus, Hamed, the inveterate enemy of Portugal, who had assassinated his own sovereign, was nevertheless replaced in the supreme authority, by Meneses; and the disgrace of the proceeding was increased by the notoriety of the sum which Hamed paid to the Viceroy, in order to obtain his restoration to power. Idal Cawn once more invaded the dependencies of Goa with impunity, and even retook several places in the vicinity of the city. The person of Meneses himself, was not secure from danger and insult. While sailing down the coast of Malabar, at the head of a numerous fleet, the Samorin of Calicut treated him with indignity, and even obliged him to quit the harbour. Instead of resenting such an outrage, he tamely retired to Cochin; where he was pursued by the enemy, who after having massacred many of the Portugueze, retreated without molestation. The valour and conduct of George Albuquerque preserved, it is true, Malacca; and Britto nearly effected the complete reduction of the Molucca Islands, though not without exercising many acts of violence and barbarity against the unfortunate natives. But, these successful exertions faintly counterbalanced

lanced the national calamity, resulting from the weakness or misconduct of Meneses; and the court of Lisbon, alarmed at its injurious effects, determined on sending out a person capable of remedying the disorders, occasioned by the vices or incapacity of the supreme governor.^u

C H A P.
IV.
1521—
1523.

The selection of the Council of State having fallen on Vasco de Gama, who was regarded by the nation as the only man adequate to so arduous a task; that illustrious commander, notwithstanding his advanced period of life, and his numerous infirmities, cheerfully prepared to embark anew for the scene of his early glory and discoveries. Arriving safely on the coast of Malabar, he assumed the government of India; and by his wholesome severity, joined to his high reputation for justice and ability, began to awaken his countrymen from their inactivity. But his administration proved of short duration; and after scarcely exercising the functions of his high charge more than three months, he expired at Cochin, in the seventieth year of his age. If, while perusing the acts of sordid mal-administration, and pusillanimity or dereliction of public duty, attributed to Meneses, we are irresistibly led to compare him with one of our own East Indian governors, Rumbold, who seems closely to have imitated his Portuguese model; we no less naturally are reminded, in reading the death of

1524.
Arrival of
Vasco de
Gama.

^u Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 1—45. La Clede, vol. i. p. 651—656.

Gama,

C H A P. Gama, which took place so shortly after his
 IV. arrival in India, that a precisely similar fate
 1524. awaited Cornwallis, within a few weeks of his
 landing for the second time, on the banks of
 the Ganges. It is thus that history, whatever
 the ignorant may assert, offers perpetually only
 a repetition of the same events, under differ-
 ent names. Notwithstanding some acts of un-
 justifiable cruelty, which Gama committed dur-
 ing the progress of his wars with the Samorin,
 which unquestionably tarnish the lustre of his
 exploits, he must be regarded as one of the
 greatest men whom Portugal has produced; in
 fame inferior only to his predecessor, Columbus.
 Vasco's intrepidity, patience, fortitude, and
 perseverance, could alone have enabled him
 to surmount the difficulties, which presented
 themselves to oppose his passage round the
 continent of Africa: difficulties, of which we
 cannot in the present age, form an adequate
 conception. Like Albuquerque, he breathed
 his last in the country where his atchievements
 had secured him immortality.*

His death
 and cha-
 racter.

1525,
 1526.
 Govern-
 ment of
 Meneses.

The supreme command, by his death, de-
 volved on Henry de Meneses; nor could a
 more able substitute have been found for
 Gama. His contempt of riches, and personal
 disinterestedness, were equalled by his vigi-
 lance and military capacity. Assuming the ad-
 ministration, he immediately set sail, in order
 to seek, and to attack the Samorin. That

* La Clede, vol. ii. p. 659, 660. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 45—50.

1525,
1526.

Prince was twice completely vanquished on the water; and these victories, which were gained by the Portugueze under circumstances of great inferiority and disparity, restored the national reputation of their arms throughout India. But, their further progress was unfortunately suspended by the decease of Meneses; and a period of civil dissension, approaching to anarchy, immediately commenced, which appeared to menace the very existence of the Portugueze power in Asia'. Mascaregnas, named by the King to the succession in the first instance, being absent at Malacca, of which city he was governor; Sampayo, who commanded at Cochin, and who was only contingently appointed to that office, in case of the decease of Mascaregnas, availed himself of his absence, to seize on the supreme authority: nor, on his competitor's arrival in the following year, would he resign his usurpation. Availing himself of subsequent letters from the court of Lisbon, in which his name was substituted and preferred to that of Mascaregnas, Sampayo proceeded to arrest him on his landing at Goa; from whence he was transferred to the citadel of Cannanore, and there thrown into prison. So violent an act of injustice and oppression on the part of Sampayo, excited universal resentment. The friends of the injured and excluded governor having in-

1526—
1529.

Dissensions
among the
Portu-
gueze.

† Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 51—96. La Clede, vol. i. p. 661—667, and p. 670.

terfered,

CH A P. terfered, compelled his rival to liberate him
 IV. from confinement, and to submit their respec-
 1526— tive titles to a fair arbitration, composed of
 1529. thirteen persons, impartially chosen for the
 purpose. But, even in this selection, the ad-
 dress of Sampayo, sustained by the exertions
 of his adherents, triumphed over the simpli-
 city and moderation of Mascaregnas. The
 supreme government was adjudged to the for-
 mer: while his rival no longer attempting to
 struggle against such unequal force, and too
 patriotic to involve India in civil war on ac-
 count of his private quarrel, embarked for Lis-
 bon, leaving Sampayo in possession of the of-
 fice. Those persons who are conversant in the
 events, and familiar with the transactions of Bri-
 tish India, peculiarly with the affairs of Bengal
 and of Madras, during a period of near twelve
 years, from 1775, down to 1787; will be for-
 cibly reminded of the contests here recorded
 between Sampayo and Mascaregnas. Contests,
 which from their nature might have equally led
 to the subversion of our power on the Ganges,
 and on the coast of Coromandel.

Govern-
 ment, and
 actions of
 Sampayo.

Unjustifiable as the means must be esteemed,
 by which Sampayo's situation was acquired, he
 proved himself not wholly unworthy of the
 elevation. During three years that he retain-
 ed the supreme power, the enemies of the
 Portugeze were repressed, the dominions of
 the crown were augmented, and the national
 reputation for military skill and valour, was sus-
 tained. The coast of Malabar was not only pro-

protected, but, repeated advantages were gained over the Samorin. Hali Sha, admiral of the King of Cambay, was vanquished in a naval engagement, by Sampayo; and if the disaffection of his officers had not prevented him from profiting of his victory, the city of Diu itself might have been taken. After having secured Ormus, Chaul, and Cannanore, he, as the best proof of his wisdom and œconomy, left to his successor a fleet of one hundred and thirty-six ships, well equipped in all respects. These great qualities were unhappily sullied by avarice and rapacity. Nor did he escape with impunity on his return to Europe, where the King severely punished his unjust assumption of the government: he was fined, imprisoned, and compelled to leave the kingdom.²

C H A P.

IV.

1526—

1529.

If, from the survey of Asia, we turn our view to Portugal, the establishment of the Inquisition constitutes almost the only memorable event, that occurs during the period of which we are treating. The King himself having most unwisely introduced it, with a view to repress the progress of Judaism and Mahometanism in his dominions; that tribunal, armed with powers the most pernicious, as well as undefined, soon acquired such force, as to be no longer controuled by the authority to which it owed its existence. Warm remonstrances were indeed offered, and vigorous opposition was made

Establishment of
Inquisition
in Portugal.

² Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 96—150. passim. La Clede, vol. i. p. 670—677. Abregé Chron. vol. i. p. 173—194.

C H A P. by the Portugueze nobility, to its continuance:
 IV. but John, from principles of a superstitious or
 1526— mistaken zeal, maintained the institution, and
 1529. the court of Rome confirmed its jurisdiction.^a

1529— Acugna, who had been appointed to succeed
 1538. Sampayo, inherited all the virtues of his prede-
 Acugna cessor, unaccompanied by his vices and defects.
 succeeds to Sampayo. Under his vigorous government, new conquests
 were made, and new territories were added to
 the Portugueze empire in India. Not only
 Deman and Baseen, two considerable places
 situate in the Concan, were successively taken;
 but the city of Diu, on which the court of
 Lisbon had so long fixed its views, and the
 possession of which was alone wanting, in order
 to add Guzurat to the provinces already sub-
 jected on the western side of the Peninsula,
 fell at length into the hands of Acugna. The
 kingdom of Cambay, of which Diu constituted
 a dependancy, ranked at the beginning of the
 sixteenth century, among the most commercial
 and extensive sovereignties of Indostan. Sultan
 Badur, who then occupied the throne, a Prince
 of talents and ambition, was likewise an in-
 venerate enemy of the Portugueze. He had only
 recently rendered himself master of Diu, having
 expelled the governor, who had long assumed
 and maintained an independence on the King
 of Cambay. Badur knew the importance and
 value of the acquisition: but, pressed by the

Acquisition
 of Diu.

^a Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 172, and p. 223, 224.

arms of the Mogul on the north, and surrounded by enemies, he found himself reduced to the necessity of negotiating with the Viceroy, who demanded permission there to construct a citadel. After considerable time and many evasions, Acugna having obtained from the Sultan this concession, and fearful of committing it to hazard by delay, immediately repaired to Diu, with a numerous fleet. The ground destined for the fort, was marked out; and such anxiety did Acugna manifest to avail himself of the favourable moment, that in forty-nine days, the new fortifications were sufficiently completed, to be rendered secure from insult.

Badur had no sooner ceded the point so ardently desired, than repenting of his facility, he endeavoured by treachery to regain possession of the citadel. In order the more easily to effect it, he demanded an interview with the Viceroy, which took place in the port of Diu, on board the vessel of Acugna; who, aware of the Sultan's perfidious intentions, attempted to anticipate them by seizing his person. In accomplishing his escape to the shore, Badur having been killed by the Portugueze, his nephew Mahmud was elevated to the throne of Cambay. Induced by the desire of revenging his uncle's death, as well as of recovering the citadel of Diu, the new Prince had no sooner established himself in the kingdom, than he assembled forces, and invested the fortress. Solyman the Second, Emperor of the Turks, who had succeeded his father Selim, dispatched

Death of
Sultan Ba-
dur.

Siege of
Diu by
Sultan
Mahmud.

C H A P.

IV.

1529—

1538.

Recall of
Acugna.Disastrous
events in
Portugal.

the Bashaw of Cairo to his aid, who joined Mahmud under the walls. They exerted every effort to render themselves masters of the place and even effected a lodgement on one of the ramparts. But Sylveira, who commanded in the citadel, with only six hundred men, made so resolute a defence, that after an incredible slaughter of the assailants, they precipitately abandoned the siege. The Turkish Bashaw regained the Red Sea, while the troops of Mahmud retired into the interior of the province of Guzurat; leaving to Sylveira the honour of having with so slender a garrison, rendered abortive the united attempts of two great sovereigns, to reduce Diu to their obedience. The merits of Acugna, like those of Albuquerque, were nevertheless repaid with ingratitude. After an administration of near ten years, during which period he rendered the most important services to his country; falling under the displeasure of the court, he was recalled with circumstances of unmerited hardship and disgrace. Acugna was succeeded in his dignity, by Garcia de Norogna.^b

While the splendor of the Portuguese arms was so well sustained in Asia, and the dominions of the crown continued rapidly to augment, the internal tranquillity and felicity of the kingdom were disturbed by physical calamities of the most awful nature. Earthquakes

^b Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 150—275. La Clede, vol. i. p. 687, and p. 690, 691.

more

more violent than those which had taken place under Emanuel, convulsed the country. Lisbon was almost destroyed; and Santarem, Almerin, together with other places in the vicinity of the capital, were swallowed up in the earth. Thirty thousand persons perished in the metropolis only; and the calamity was rendered still more terrible, by a simultaneous inundation of the Tagus, which swept off numbers of the inhabitants. The King and royal family encamped in tents, during a considerable time; precisely as Joseph the First, his Queen and daughters did, scarcely sixty years ago. Portugal in every period of her annals appears to have been subject to these convulsions, which return at certain intervals, with augmented violence; and the history of the last century bears a striking similitude in this respect, to the reign of John the Third, in almost all its circumstances. The kingdom enjoyed notwithstanding an uninterrupted peace, and the benefits of a lucrative, as well as extensive commerce; while almost all the other European states were not only involved in wars, but destitute in a great measure of trade or manufactures.^c

The new Viceroy, Norogna, though nephew to the great Albuquerque, and long distinguished by his military exploits against the Moors in Africa, ill sustained in India, either his own preceding reputation, or the glory of his country. By his delays, he lost the favour-

1538—
1540.
Transac-
tions in
Asia.

^c Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 202.

C H A P. able occasion of attacking and defeating the
 IV. Bashaw of Cairo, in his flight from before Diu;
 1538— and that important place itself owed its pre-
 1540. servation solely to the unconquerable courage
 and resources of Sylveira, the governor. No-
 roгна even sullied the national honour, by in-
 stantly concluding an inglorious peace with
 Sultan Mahmud; the conditions of which treaty,
 though they might have been dictated by the
 Viceroy, were found to be so favourable to the
 King of Cambay, that suspicions highly inju-
 rious to Norogna's integrity, were universally
 entertained by his countrymen. He repaired
 nevertheless in some degree, the disgrace, by
 effecting a solid pacification with the Samorin
 of Calicut; who sinking under accumulated
 defeats and losses, submitted to the terms im-
 posed on him by his conquerors^d. The Vice-
 roy died soon afterwards, worn out with age
 and infirmities. He was little regretted; and
 the less so, as his successor, Stephen de Gama,
 son of the famous Vasco, possessed qualities
 and virtues worthy of filling the highest situa-
 tion.

1540—
 1542.
 Expedition
 to the Red
 Sea.

No enemy remaining to vanquish, from Or-
 mus, quite to Malacca; or from Guzurat, to the
 southern extremity of the island of Ceylon;
 Gama, in pursuance of positive orders from
 the court of Lisbon, undertook an expedition
 against Suëz, situated at the northern termi-

^d La Clede, vol. ii. p. 691—693. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 276—293.
 Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 233—235.

nation of the Red Sea, where the fleet of CHAP.
 Solyman, the Turkish Emperor, then lay at IV.
 anchor. But, the Portugueze enterprizes against 1540—
 Egypt and Arabia, by some fatality, probably 1542.
 arising out of their ignorance of the impediments which nature has opposed to the navigation between Mocha and Suëz, were always destined to be ruinous, or at least unproductive. In consequence of a delay in approaching Suëz, troops being thrown into the place, Gama found himself under the necessity of retreating precipitately to his ships. Nor did his brother prove more fortunate, who was detached with a body of troops, to the assistance of the King of Abyssinia. After penetrating into that unknown and sequestered portion of Africa, which no other European nation has ever been able to effect, down to the present time, and performing actions of the most heroic valor, he finally perished; nor did the Portugueze under his command, atchieve any object of national benefit or importance. The administration of Gama, 1542—
 during the period that he governed India, was 1545.
 notwithstanding distinguished by the most beneficent and disinterested zeal for the glory of his country. But, its term was short; and he was superceded by Alfonso de Sousa, whose rapacity and injustice rendered the loss of his predecessor still more lamented^c. To Sousa succeeded the celebrated John de Castro.

^c Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 294—342. passim. La Clede, vol. i. p. 694—696, and p. 704, and p. 710, 711.

C H A P.

IV.

1545—

1548.

Second
siege of
Diu, by
Mahmud.

Enemy
vanquish-
ed.

During the second siege of Diu, which was again attacked by Mahmud, King of Cambay, Mascaregnas, then governor, acquired a military reputation, even superior to that which had been attained by his predecessor Sylveira. In the history of modern nations, there exists scarcely any instance of more undaunted courage, sustained under the pressure of famine, during many months, and against so superior an enemy. Efforts, which we are tempted to consider as almost above the powers of men, were made by the governor and garrison, whose religious zeal aided and inflamed their military ardour. Rejecting all proposals of accommodation, even the most honourable, they held out among the ruins of the fortress, destitute equally of ammunition or of provisions, till the Viceroy came in person to their rescue. Even after his arrival, their united numbers were still so comparatively small, that safety lay only in decided success. John de Castro and Mascaregnas obtained nevertheless, a signal victory, and cut to pieces the army of the King of Cambay. It became requisite to reconstruct without delay the citadel, which had been demolished by the fire of the enemy; but the royal treasury was empty, and no pecuniary resources presented themselves. In this embarrassment, the Viceroy adopted an expedient, which, however opposed to our manners and modes of thinking, places in a conspicuous point of view, the elevation of his own character, and the generous promptitude of the

Portu-

Portugueze to contribute towards the public necessities. He addressed a letter to the inhabitants of Goa, demanding the loan of a considerable sum; and as the most infallible pledge for their repayment, he sent them one of his own Moustachios. The money was instantly remitted him with alacrity; and the females of distinction, animated with sentiments of affection for their country, or impelled by the desire of contributing to its glory, voluntarily presented their jewels in addition. Antiquity can produce few instances of greater public virtue, the effect of which is heightened by its noble simplicity. After re-establishing the fortifications of Diu, Castro embarked again for Goa; into which city he made his triumphal entry, crowned with palm leaves, like the Greek or Roman conquerors, and accompanied with all the honours of victory. Jusrar Cawn, one of the captive generals of the King of Cambay, followed by six hundred prisoners, with trophies, colours, and artillery, accompanied the procession. The festivities lasted several days; and the spectacle itself renewed the idea of the Consular triumphs commemorated by Polybius or Livy, over vanquished princes and nations. The Portugueze power seemed to have attained its summit; and we cannot reflect without astonishment, as well as admiration, that in the short space of fifty years, one of the most inconsiderable European monarchies had become mistress of the principal ports in Persia, Guzurat, Malabar, Ceylon, and the immense countries to the

CHAP.

IV.

1545—

1548.

Viceroyalty, and exploits of Castro.

C H A P. the extremity of the Indies. Goa already con-
 IV. stituted the capital of a vast empire, to which
 1545— Ormus, Sofala on the eastern coast of South-
 1548. ern Africa, and the Moluccas were tributary;
 Splendor while the Viceroy's court equalled in magnifi-
 of Goa. cence those the Asiatic princes, and might vie
 with Agra or with Dehli.

Death, and
 character
 of Castro.

The felicity of Castro was not, however, des-
 tined to be without alloy; and his sensibility
 to the disgrace of his countrymen, who, after
 making themselves masters of the city of
 Aden, an enterprize which Albuquerque himself
 could not effect, had precipitately evacuated
 the place; unquestionably accelerated his end.
 He expired at Goa, in the arms of the famous
 Francis Xavier; a monk whom religious zeal
 had carried out to India, almost every part of
 which Peninsula he traversed, from an ardent
 desire of spreading the Catholic faith. The
 virtues and great qualities of Castro, equal him
 with the most illustrious names of antiquity;
 while his disinterestedness places him on a level
 with the examples presented by Aristides, by
 Phocion, and by Cincinnatus. Anxious only
 for the state, he despised all personal consi-
 derations, and expended his private fortune,
 regardless of consequences, to sustain the ho-
 nor and interests of Portugal. Such was his
 poverty, that, incredible as it may appear, we
 are assured, after his death, only three small
 pieces of copper coin were found in his chest;
 together with the portion of his beard which
 he had sent from Diu, as a pledge for the resti-
 tution

tution of the money borrowed by him for the public service.^f CHAP. IV.

The Portuguese power and commerce still continued throughout the period under our review, perpetually to augment, in defiance of every external obstacle. Japan was not only discovered, but a trade was begun with that distant country, placed at the extremity of Asia; a country which remains still almost as unknown at the commencement of the nineteenth century, as it was under the reign of John the Third. Settlements were made, and factories established, along the coast of Coromandel. From the mouths of the Ganges, to the southern point of the Peninsula, the shore was every where occupied by that enterprizing nation. The rich province of Guzurat, then regarded as one of the most valuable provinces of Indostan, formed part of the dominions of John the Third; all the ports of consequence being possessed by his subjects. The island of Ceylon yielding to repeated invasions, became tributary, or was completely subjected. Malacca, though continually besieged by the Kings of Sumatra, and attacked by its antient princes, baffled every attempt made for its reduction. The Molucca islands, after long exhibiting a scene of violence and barbarity, the most disgraceful to the Portuguese name and

1548—
1554.
Extensive conquests, and power of the Portuguese.

^f Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 342—418. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 265—267, and p. 270—273. La Clede, vol. i. p. 711—722, and vol. ii. p. 9—11.

nation,

CHAP. nation, were ultimately forced to submit to
 IV. the yoke: but the cruelties exercised in those
 1554. remote possessions, by successive governors,
 Crimes and enormities. which equal the enormities attributed to Cortez
 and to Pizarro in America, cannot be perused
 without horror. Their vast distance from the
 seat of government, and the difficulty of trans-
 mitting or of receiving intelligence from such
 remote possessions, secured impunity for almost
 every crime. ^s

Domestic
 transac-
 tions.

In contemplating the magnitude of the Por-
 tuguese conquests, which extended over so
 large a portion of Asia; and which form one
 of the most interesting subjects of modern his-
 tory, peculiarly to a nation which has succeeded
 to the Asiatic power of Emanuel, and of John
 the Third; we continually lose sight of the in-
 considerable kingdom itself, from whence these
 prodigious revolutions proceeded. The pros-
 perity which attended the arms of John the
 Third, sustained by the wisdom of his domestic
 administration, could not secure him from the
 severest visitations and losses in his own family.
 Four of his sons being already dead, the only
 one remaining, John, Prince of Portugal, had
 no sooner attained the age of sixteen, than he
 was married to Jane, daughter of the Emperor
 Charles the Fifth. But, this early alliance, de-
 signed to perpetuate the royal line, proved
 fatal to its continuance; the excessive affection
 of the prince for his young wife, having ac-

^s Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 419—519, passim. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 11—26.

celerated, if not produced the distemper of which he died. The princess was declared to be pregnant, when her husband was seized with a slow fever, which encreasing in violence, soon terminated his life. This disastrous event was nevertheless concealed from her during eighteen days, at the end of which time she brought into the world a son, who was named Sebastian. He afterwards succeeded to the crown, and became too well known by his misfortunes, followed by the ruin which his imprudent expedition to the coast of Africa, entailed upon his country. In the succeeding year died Louis, Duke of Beja, brother to the King, one of the most accomplished princes of the age in which he lived; and commonly surnamed "the Delight of Portugal," from his munificence, valor, courtesy, and other virtues. Louis left one son, named Anthony, by a lady of noble birth, called Violenté Gomez; but his legitimacy was never acknowledged, and appears to have been very problematical. After the defeat and death of Sebastian in Africa, he made, however, repeated but, ineffectual efforts, aided by France and England, to ascend the Portuguese throne.^h

CHAP.
IV.
1554.
Birth of
Sebastian.

1555.

These national misfortunes, however great in themselves, were nevertheless obliterated by the calamity which Portugal sustained in the death of John the Third, who terminated his life and reign in the fifty-fifth year of his age. The

1557.
June.
Death, and
character
of John
the Third.

^a La Clede, vol. ii. p. 26, and p. 30, 31.

C H A P.
IV.

1557.

Policy of
that mo-
arch.

affliction which his subjects felt at the event, was augmented by the prospect of a long minority, with its usual train of concomitant evils. The internal tranquillity which the kingdom had enjoyed, during thirty-five years that he filled the throne, and the mildness of his government, encreased the general sorrow. His enlarged affection for his people, was manifested by his reluctance to impose taxes, by his rigid frugality in the expenditure of the public treasure, and by his attention to every branch of national improvement. Magnificent in his court, he appeared simple and modest in his family; he loved and encouraged letters; discovered, and protected merit; blending a princely liberality in rewarding services, with the most systematic œconomy. In talents, in energy of mind, and in application to public business, he was inferior to Emanuel: his piety, which approached to superstition, led him besides, into numerous errors. Above all, the introduction of the tribunal of the inquisition into his dominions, by debasing the national character, tended to break the high spirit of his subjects, which had achieved so many great exploits under his own, and under his father's reign. On the coast of Barbary, he adopted a policy, very opposite to that of his two immediate predecessors, who had attempted by pushing their conquests inland, to subject the kingdoms of Fez and of Morocco. John on the contrary gradually withdrew his troops, successively abandoning Arzila, Safi, Azamor, and many other fortresses on the African

rican shore. Necessity dictated in a great degree this line of conduct, which was contrary to the popular inclination: but it had become impracticable to maintain the acquisitions in India, unless Africa was in some measure relinquished; Portugal being unequal to supply the perpetual demand of men and ships, requisite for securing the vast conquests of Albuquerque and his successors.ⁱ

CHAP.

IV.

1557.

The period of Sebastian's minority, though agitated by some struggles for power, between the Queen, Catherine, widow to John the Third, and the Cardinal Henry, only remaining son of Emanuel; was distinguished nevertheless by internal tranquillity and prosperity.

Minority
of Sebas-
tian.

Throughout Asia, during the twenty years which elapsed after the death of John de Castro, the Portuguese power appeared to have struck so deep a root, that every future attempt made to subvert it on the part of the natives, must prove ineffectual. Many causes contributed nevertheless, by undermining this greatness, to expose it to imminent hazard. The first conquerors of India, the contemporaries of Gama, Almeyda, and Albuquerque, were become extinct; while luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices usually attending success, had spread a pernicious influence among their descendants. Contempt of justice, venality, rapacity, and cruelty, had moreover alienated the affections

View of
the Portu-
gueze
power in
Asia.

ⁱ La Clede, vol. ii. p. 35—38. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 405. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 328—334.

C H A P.

IV.

1557—

1568.

of the natives, who were only held in subjection by the operation of terror. That sentiment itself diminished, as the Asiatics became gradually more accustomed to the European system of war, and of military discipline. Numbers of Portuguese, unrestrained either by attachment to their religion, or affection to their country, served in the armies of the princes of India, and taught them to oppose successfully their invaders. The genuine blood of Europe, which flowed in the veins of the first adventurers, was gradually broken down and debased, by the marriages which they contracted with the Hindoo and Mahometan women. From these unions sprang a race of men, far inferior in vigour of mind and energy, to their progenitors^k. Nor must it be forgotten, that the great sovereigns of Indostan, though humbled and depressed, were not vanquished or subdued. They had, indeed, abandoned the coasts; but, still occupying the interior provinces, they appeared to be capable at any time, by uniting their strength and resources, of overturning the power of Portugal. Such a combination was even by no means ideal or improbable; and if it should once be effected, very uncommon talents must be requisite to sustain the shock. In this situation stood all the Asiatic possessions of Sebastian, at the time when having attained to majority, he, by one

^k Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 602, 603.

of the first acts of his government, appointed Louis d'Ataïde to be Viceroy of the Indies.

C H A P.
IV.

The character of the young King of Portugal began already to unfold itself, and to display those qualities which proved eventually fatal to his country, as well as to himself. An ardent and romantic passion for military glory, which formed the predominant feature of his mind, rendered every other inclination subservient to it. As if they had designed to augment its violence, his preceptors, who were principally selected from the order of the Jesuits, imbued him with so strong a detestation of the Mahometan religion, accompanied by so warm a desire to spread the Christian faith; that he anxiously anticipated the moment when he might in person carry war into Africa, and exterminate or convert the worshippers of Mahomet. During several years, this disposition was fortunately controuled by various impediments. His youth, the remonstrances of his ministers, together with the treaties of peace subsisting between the Moorish kings and the crown of Portugal;—all imposed insurmountable barriers to his zeal and his ambition. But, as he approached to manhood, and as flattery represented to him the facility with which his wishes might be gratified, he grew more determined on the prosecution of his design, and gave serious grounds of alarm to his subjects. Like Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, to whom, in many points of character, Sebastian bore a striking resemblance; female

1568—

1571.

Character,
and disposition of
Sebastian.

CH A P. beauty appeared to have no charms for him,
 IV. nor to possess any power of seduction over a
 1568— mind, occupied only by one ruling sentiment.
 1571. He even expressed an indifference for perpetuating his race, and rejected various overtures of marriage. Yet, animated by the warmest sentiments of affection towards his people, he enacted the most beneficial regulations for their protection; observed rigidly the execution of justice; and even addressed letters with his own hand, to the principal magistrates of the kingdom, demanding their advice on matters of every kind, in which the public happiness was interested.¹

Combina-
 tion of the
 great Asia-
 tic princes
 against
 Portugal.

The commencement of Ataïde's administration proved brilliant and successful; but in the midst of this apparent prosperity, a combination was secretly forming, which threatened the existence of the Portuguese empire in Asia. Three of the greatest sovereigns of the Peninsula of India, alarmed at the prospect of their own approaching ruin, joined to exterminate the common enemy of their religion, independence, and liberty. The plan, which was concealed during several years, with profound dissimulation, only became known by the magnitude of the preparations requisite to carry it into execution. Idal Cawn, King of Visiapour, Nizam-ul-Muluc, sovereign of the Decan, and the Samorin of Calicut, constituted the three principal chiefs. A fourth, the King

¹ La Clede, vol. ii. p. 49—52. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 384, 385.

of Acheen, situate in the Island of Sumatra, entering into the league, undertook to attack Malacca; while Selim the Second, Emperor of the Turks, who had succeeded his father Solyman, engaged to send a powerful fleet from Suëz, across the Indian Ocean, to join the confederates. So infallible did the success of the project appear, that the contracting parties not only regulated the future division of the Portuguese dominions, in equal portions; but, appropriated respectively to each, their individual share of the territories. When the plan became finally ripe for execution, Idal Cawn, at the head of a prodigious army, commencing his march, laid siege to Goa, in which place Ataïde himself was resident. Nizam-ul-Muluc at the same time sat down before the neighbouring fortress of Chaul. The conduct of the Viceroy, under these circumstances, which the event demonstrated to be equally wise and magnanimous, eminently conduced to dissipate so formidable a combination. In opposition to the unanimous opinion of his council, who advised him to abandon all the inferior posts or acquisitions in various parts of India, and to concentrate the whole force of the nation round Goa; he resolved neither to cede or relinquish any of the numerous dependencies of Portugal, but to dispute every inch of ground with his enemies.

Meanwhile the Samorin, after losing a considerable time in the equipment of his fleet, made a late and ineffectual effort to destroy the squadron of Mascaregnas, lying in the river

C H A P.
IV.

1568—
1571.

Conduct of
Ataïde.

Enemy de-
feated.

CHAP. of Chaul. The Turkish gallies, to the number of twenty-five, having quitted Suëz, arrived at Mocha, near the Mouth of the Red Sea, on their passage to the coast of Malabar: but the divisions which early took place between the Turks and Arabians, became there so violent, as to retard their further progress; and the battle of Lepanto, gained soon afterwards over the Ottomans, by Don John of Austria, obliged the Sultan to recal his forces, and to relinquish his designs on India. It is curious to reflect, that this great naval victory, though from various causes it failed to produce any eminent advantage in Europe; yet operated by rebound to the shores of Asia, where it paralyzed the efforts of Selim against the Portugueze; an effect which unquestionably was neither foreseen nor intended by the Venetians. Chaul, though only a small and ill-fortified maritime town, yet was defended with such valor, that Nizam-ul-Muluc at length decamping from before it, concluded a peace with Ataïde. Idal Cawn himself, after persisting ten months in his attempt to reduce Goa, and having lost his most valuable elephants, as well as his choicest troops before Benasterin, without making any effectual progress; in despair withdrew his army, and retired into his own dominions. Malacca, so often attacked, was preserved by Mello, who with a very inferior force, defeated the King of Acheen; and this vast combination of sovereigns, which seemed ready to swallow up the power

power of Portugal in Asia, only tended to confirm her empire^m. Here again, those persons who are conversant in the modern history of India, and who turn back their view to the recent period, when a combination of European and Asiatic powers, not less formidable than that by which the Portuguese Viceroy was assailed, attacked the British empire in Asia; will be struck with the coincidence of events in the sixteenth, and in the eighteenth centuries. The union of the Mharattas, of Hyder Ally, and of the French, between 1779 and 1782, which threatened our existence, and had nearly accomplished our destruction in the Carnatic; was met by exertions not less able and effectual, than the measures that preserved his Asiatic possessions to Sebastian.

CHAP.
IV.
1568—
1571.

Ataïde's government terminated with the conclusion of the war. A successor arriving at Goa, from Lisbon, he embarked for Europe; and was received on his landing in the Tagus, by the young King, with uncommon demonstrations of affection and respect. But, this favour continued only for a short period; and the important services which he had rendered to his country, by dispersing and vanquishing its numerous enemies, could not protect him from disgrace. Sebastian, incensed at the freedom with which he opposed the rash project of invading Morocco, banished Ataïde from his

1572.
Recal of
Ataïde.

^m Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 601—666. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 199—224.

CHAP. presence^a. The triumph of the Portuguese
 IV. over so many princes, united for their destruc-
 1573. tion; secured nevertheless their future repose
 Immense magnitude of the Portuguese dominions. in India; no similar or equal effort to eject them, having ever afterwards been made by the native powers. Even Acbar, the great Mogul, who reigned at that period over a vast portion of the Peninsula, and who had recently added the whole kingdom of Cambay to his dominions, yet respected these formidable European neighbours. Such had become the extent and magnitude of their possessions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, that the ministers of Sebastian judged it indispensable to adopt a new system for their government, by dividing them into three great independent departments. The first, with the title of Viceroy, extended from the Straits of Babelmandel, round by the Gulf of Persia, the Indus, and Guzarat, to Cape Comorin; including in its jurisdiction, Goa, Ormus, Diu, and the ports along the coast of Malabar, together with the valuable island of Ceylon. The second division comprehended the whole eastern shore of Africa, from the river of Delagoa, opposite Madagascar, quite to Cape Guardafoy, on either side of the Tropic of Capricorn; in which were comprized Mombaza, Quiloa, Mozambique, Sofala, and many other settlements, almost to the mouth of the Red Sea. In the last partition, were included Malacca, the Molucca islands, and all the establish-

^a La Clede, vol. ii. p. 224.

ments throughout the vast Archipelago which C H A P.
nature has scattered between the bay of Bengal IV.
and China. It is not without admiration that
we can reflect on such a stupendous tract of
coast, situate in the most fertile or commercial
parts of Asia and Africa, extending from the
Cape of Good Hope, nearly to Japan; being re-
duced to the obedience of a country, which
formed only a division of the Roman province of
Spain. We may even doubt whether the British
empire in India, at the beginning of the nine-
teenth century, vast as it must be acknow-
ledged, can bear a comparison with that of
Portugal, under the reign of Sebastian. °

While, in every part of the eastern world,
the Portuguese power and dominions acquired
strength, the fatal passion of their sovereign
for expeditions of foreign conquest, prepared
the ruin of his unfortunate country. To such
a pitch of infatuation did this propensity lead
him, that he projected to embark in person for
India, as presenting the only theatre worthy of
his courage. Alcasova, his first minister, who,
in order to acquire an influence over his mas-
ter's mind, had encouraged and flattered him
in all his weaknesses; terrified at the proposi-
tion, objected to the remote distance of the
Indies, and substituted Morocco in their place.
No endeavours, nor remonstrances of his coun-
cil, could divert him from his fatal resolution.
The Cardinal Henry, his great uncle, only sur-

1573.
1574.
Imprudent
projects of
Sebastian.

• Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 671 and 672.

CHAP. living son of Emanuel, had lost his influence:
 IV. and when the celebrated Mascaregnas, who had
 1573, gained so high a reputation by his defence of
 1574. Diu, inveighed against the abettors of the enterprize; Sebastian having assembled his physicians, demanded of them, whether personal courage might not diminish with age. They were complaisant enough to reply in the affirmative, and the King triumphed in their declaration. Under pretence of visiting the fortresses belonging to Portugal, situate on the northern coast of Africa, he embarked from Lisbon, with only a few followers; having previously sent over Anthony, Prior of Crato, his cousin, son to the deceased Duke of Beja, with some hundred soldiers. Landing at Tangier, he exposed his person by needlessly attacking the Moors who collected to oppose him, and celebrated by games and rejoicings, this slight success. On his return home, he was in imminent danger of perishing by a storm; and his subjects already laboured under the utmost alarm for his safety, when he entered the Tagus. The fortunate issue of the enterprize, unhappily served to increase Sebastian's ardor; and he only waited for a favourable occasion, in order to give full scope to his inclinations.^p

He embarks for Tangier.

1574.
 State of
 Portugal
 at this period.

If we consider the political situation of Portugal at this period, we must admit that it has

^p Abregé. Chron. vol.ii. p. 419, 420. La Clede, vol.ii. p. 53—56.

been

been rarely surpassed by any nation, antient or modern, in felicity and splendor. The celebrated historian who has written the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," beautifully as well as justly remarks, that "the time which elapsed between the death of Domitian, and the accession of Commodus, was incontestibly that, in which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous; the vast extent of the Roman world being then governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom^a." If, in like manner, we were called on to point out in modern history, the period when any European nation has enjoyed the greatest portion of prosperity, as well as happiness, we should name the reigns of John the Second, Emanuel, and John the Third of Portugal. They comprised, from the year 1481 to 1557, a space of about seventy-six years; and consequently include a period not much inferior in duration, to that which elapsed between the accession of Nerva, and the death of Marcus Aurelius. It presents even this memorable difference in favour of the Portugueze; that they emerged during those reigns, from obscurity, into grandeur, wealth, and political consequence, by the exertion of the most heroic qualities; while the Romans under Trajan and the Antonines, were sinking fast into barbarism, or declining in every civil and military virtue.

Its felicity.

^a Gibbon, vol. i. p. 126, 127.

C H A P.

IV.

1574.

Foreign
dominions.Com-
merce.Political
security.

Sebastian in 1574, was not only master of the prodigious portion of Asia which we have already contemplated ; but, in Africa, he possessed both coasts of that immense continent ; where he might be said to reign from the tropic of Cancer, round its southern extremity, nearly to the straits of Babelmandel, through the two Hemispheres. In South America, Brazil, a country of unknown limits and productions, extending from the river Orellana, quite to that of La Plata, began already to be colonized. The city of St. Salvador was founded under the reign of John the Third ; and the settlement of Rio Janeiro, which now affords an asylum to the fugitive royal family, soon afterwards rose under Sebastian^r. Portugal might be considered as mistress of the exclusive commerce of India and the Moluccas, which countries principally supplied all Europe with spices ; for the sale of which valuable commodities, marts were established at Lisbon, at Leghorn, and at Antwerp. Sebastian retained the keys of the Red Sea, and of the Gulf of Persia, by the possession of Ormus ; sustained by his powerful fleets, with which he had driven the Turks to take refuge in their ports : and he had recently triumphed in the person of his lieutenants, over the greatest sovereigns of Indostan, united for his destruction. From the mouths of the Euphrates and of the Indus, to those of the Ganges, the Portuguese flag impressed terror, or extended pro-

^r La Clede, vol. ii. p. 38—43.

tection.

tection. The nation beheld in Europe, no external enemy to dread, except Spain; with whose sovereign, Philip the Second, Sebastian was intimately allied by consanguinity and treaty: nor were they molested by the Moorish princes of Africa, who only demanded the continuance of peace, and who were not in a condition to act offensively against Portugal. From this eminence they were precipitated within a few years, by the rashness and folly of Sebastian. Anarchy succeeded, followed by foreign invasion; and made way for a state of depression and servitude under the Spanish princes, during fourscore years, which equalled their preceding grandeur and prosperity: affording to mankind a memorable example of the uncertainty of national greatness, and of the calamities which an ill-advised sovereign may entail upon his country and his subjects.

Although the power of the crown over all the inferior ranks of people, was in fact scarcely less despotic in Portugal, than in the neighbouring dominions of Spain; yet much stronger traces of the feudal system existed in the former, than were to be found in the latter kingdom. Philip the Second had in a great measure reduced the nobility of Castile, and even those of Arragon, to the condition of the other orders: but Sebastian experienced from his Barons, on various occasions, the most pertinacious opposition to his will. In 1577, only three years after the period under our review, when he meditated his unfortunate enterprize against Africa; the expenses

Limited
nature of
the royal
power.

CHAP. expences necessarily incurred by his vast naval
 IV. and military preparations, compelled him to
 1574. exact unusual contributions from the nation.
 The clergy, induced by the approbation of the
 papal see, and the pretext of a Cruzade against
 Mahometans, reluctantly consented to be taxed
 at the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand
 crowns. But neither so animating an example,
 nor the pressing solicitations of a young and
 popular monarch, could prevail upon the nobles
 to grant a supply towards the expedition. They
 even ventured, by the mouth of the Count de
 Tentugal, a member of their own body, to re-
 monstrate in language approaching to menace,
 against any attempt to infringe their privileges.
 The principal burthen of the war fell therefore
 on the people, who obeyed in silence, and were
 ultimately made the victims of Sebastian's in-
 temperate thirst of military glory. *

Revenues.

The revenues of the crown in 1574, were
 estimated at about three millions of Ducats;
 a sum which falls not very short of a million
 and a half of pounds sterling. Two-thirds of
 the amount were furnished by Portugal, the
 possessions on the coast of Guinea, the islands
 of Cape Verd, and of the Azores in the Atlantic,
 and lastly the Brazil. The remaining million
 was derived exclusively from the East Indies †.
 If we compare it with the enormous receipt of
 Philip the Second, we shall find that it did not
 exceed an eighth part of the Spanish revenues.

* De Thou, vol. vii. p. 605.

† Ibid. p. 604.

But,

But, on the other hand, it amounted to above three times the sum annually received by Elizabeth, Queen of England, from the aggregate result of all the taxes and contributions levied on the English people^u. The Portuguese sovereigns in the sixteenth century, were notwithstanding, by no means wealthy. Their vast naval armaments; the military force constantly maintained in so many distant provinces; and the wars perpetually waged against the Asiatic princes; — these expences swallowed up the produce of the Indian commerce, together with all the acquisitions made by Gama and Albuquerque^x. But, if the royal treasury was not enriched by those conquests, the nation received prodigious advantages from a lucrative traffic, and by the exclusive possession of the articles imported from Ceylon and the Moluccas. In this important point of view, Portugal stood contrasted with Spain, where the sovereign alone received the profits of the Peruvian and Mexican mines, while the people derived little benefit from the exploits of Cortez, and the depredations of Pizarro.

We may form an accurate idea of the naval and military force of the Portuguese kings at this period, by a survey of the preparations made by Sebastian in 1578, for his invasion of Morocco. The troops, independent of foreign auxiliaries and volunteers, do not seem to have exceeded ten thousand infantry; out of which

Military
and naval
forces.

^u Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. Append. iii. p. 474.

^x De Thou, vol. vii. p. 604.

number,

CHAP. number, the greater part consisted of raw undisciplined soldiers, destitute either of subordination, or of experience^y. A long series of peace and tranquillity, if it had not enervated the courage of the nation, had rendered them inexpert in the science of war: for it must be observed, that few of the adventurers who embarked for India or Africa, returned to their native country. The fleet which conveyed the military force from the Tagus, to Arzyla on the coast of Morocco, was composed of fifty upper-decked vessels, only five gallies, and near nine hundred boats of every description: these latter were principally used as transports, or victuallers^z. It is evident that the kingdom was not competent to make any greater exertion, and that Sebastian had exhausted the revenues of the crown, and the resources of the State, in one ruinous effort.

State of
literature.

Letters were held in the highest honor, and cultivated with ardor, under the reigns of Emanuel, and of John the Third. Buchanan, whose genius and compositions shed so much lustre on the period, was invited to Lisbon, and retained in Portugal, by the second of those monarchs, who not only restored, but eminently protected the university founded at Coimbra^a. Damianus Goëz, by command of the same sovereign, composed his Latin commentaries on the exploits of the Portugueze in In-

^y De Thou, vol. vii. p. 615.

^z Ibid.

^a Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. Art. Buchanan.

dia; as he likewise wrote in his native language, CHAP.
IV.
1574.
the chronicle of John the Second, and the history of Emanuel. Goëz had been a chamberlain of the last mentioned prince, by whom he was employed in the most important affairs of state^b. Osorio, Bishop of Sylves in the province of Algarva, addressed his history of Emanuel, written in Latin, to John the Third himself; at whose pressing solicitation, he exerted his talents in immortalizing the events of the sixteenth century, which had spread the Portuguese name to the remotest parts of the globe^c. Louis, Duke of Beja, confided to Osorio, the education of his son, Anthony, Prior of Crato, so well known in the history of Portugal. The historian himself survived the fall of his country, dying in 1580, soon after its reduction under the yoke of Spain, by Philip the Second.

Camoëns, who was born at Lisbon, about the year 1517, flourished under the reigns of Sebastian, and his predecessor. The “Lusiade,” an Epic poem, consecrated to the great achievements of his countrymen in Asia, first appeared in 1569, twelve years after the death of John the Third, dedicated to Sebastian himself. It has been esteemed not unworthy to rank with the most sublime productions of a similar kind, whether antient or modern; and the superior celebrity of Ariosto and Tasso, may perhaps be more due to the native graces of the Italian

^b Biogr. Dict. vol. vi. Art. Goëz. Osorio, Hist. de Port. vol. i. p. 3.

^c Osorio, vol. i. p. 1—3. Lafitau, vol. i. Preface, p. 9, 10.

language,

C H A P. language, aided by its more universal reception
 IV. among European nations, than to any real in-
 1574. feriority of genius or invention in the Portu-
 gueze poet. If Camoëns will not suffer a com-
 parison with Virgil, he is unquestionably above
 Lucan, or Statius, in many of the great consti-
 tuent features of Epic Poetry. The "Lusiade"
 will probably be longer read, than either the
 "Pharsalia," or the "Thebaid," though both
 the two last-mentioned productions are written
 in one of the classical languages of antiquity,
 while Camoëns composed his poem in Portu-
 gueze. Like Garcilasso de la Vega his con-
 temporary, Camoëns fought, as well as wrote;
 and if Cervantes lost his left hand in the me-
 morable battle of Lepanto, Camoëns suffered
 the loss of an eye, in a naval action on the coast
 of Morocco. The scene of the great events
 commemorated in the "Lusiade," was familiar
 to the Poet, who had visited Goa, as well as
 every part of the Portugueze possessions in
 Asia, where he had suffered shipwreck, and
 undergone a variety of misfortunes. He had
 beheld and passed "the tempestuous Cape,"
 which forms so picturesque a feature of his
 work; but the imprudence that so often accom-
 panies superior talents, seems to have attended
 him to every quarter of the globe. To the dis-
 grace of the age and nation, this great Poet,
 notwithstanding the beauty and elevation of
 his genius, perished of want and diseases, in
 1579, in the city of Lisbon, only a short time
 before the final subjection of Portugal to the
 Spanish

Spanish dominion^d. Cervantes, it is well known, finished his career nearly in a similar manner, as did Spenser and Otway among ourselves.

C H A P.
IV.

1574.

Survey of
the Por-
tuguese in
Asia.

It is not, however, by a review of the Portuguese in Europe, that we must appreciate their national merit, or their claim to the admiration of posterity. Asia formed the theatre on which their vices, as well as their virtues, were displayed in full energy, and where they produced the most important consequences. We contemplate with just amazement, a little kingdom almost unknown beyond the Pyrenees, previous to the conclusion of the fifteenth century; suddenly bursting the limits which nature seemed to have imposed to its progress or aggrandizement, and attracting the universal attention of mankind. While uninterrupted tranquillity prevailed in Portugal, the active spirit of the people, aided and directed by the liberality of three succeeding princes, first discovered the passage to India, and afterwards conquered a great portion of that part of the earth. The courage, as well as the fortitude and perseverance which Gama and Albuquerque exerted, were of no common description. Even the very voyages made to parts of the globe so distant, and then so little known, were attended with every possible hazard and renunciation. It is not without commiseration, that we read of the multitude of ships and men, who perished by shipwreck, famine, and tempests, during the

Dangers
of the na-
vigation to
India.

* Biogr. Diet. vol.iii. Art. Camoëns.

CHAP. first fifty years subsequent to the passage round
 IV. the Cape of Good Hope. Of three vessels
 1574. which Vasco de Gama commanded in 1497,
 only one returned to Lisbon; and the equipage
 of the squadron, which had originally amounted
 to one hundred and seventy persons, was di-
 minished to fifty-five^c. Cabral, who succeeded
 him in 1500, may be regarded as having been still
 more unfortunate. Before he reached the Cape
 Verd islands, he missed one vessel, of which no
 tidings were ever received. Four others perished
 in a moment, between the coast of Brasil and
 the shore of Africa, in consequence of a sudden
 storm. Not a single individual on board these
 ships escaped; and among the number lost,
 must be reckoned the celebrated Bartholomew
 Diaz, a commander inferior rather in good for-
 tune than in nautical skill, to Gama; Diaz
 having under John the Second's reign, first at-
 tained to the Cape which forms the southern
 extremity of Africa, though he did not succeed
 in doubling that promontory^f. In the next
 year, 1501, Gonsalvo Coello experienced a
 similar calamity. Four of his six ships perished
 miserably, with all their crews, before he reach-
 ed Brasil^g. Vincent Soldre was lost, with all
 his treasures, in 1503, at the mouth of the Red
 Sea, near the straits of Babelmandel. He dis-
 appeared, without any intelligence being ever

^c Lafitau, vol. i. p. 117. Osorio, vol. i. p. 83.

^f Osorio, vol. i. p. 105. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 126.

^g Lafitau, vol. i. p. 137. Osorio, vol. i. p. 128.

obtained of his fate^h. Such likewise was the fatal lot of Francis Albuquerque, and Nicholas Coello, in the following year, while on their return home from Cochinⁱ. Gama, during his third voyage, in 1534, when the passage must have been better known, beheld three of his vessels founder, or undergo shipwreck, before he reached the coast of India^k. Edward Meneses, who preceded Gama in the government of the Portuguese affairs in Asia, and his brother, Louis Meneses, were both lost in returning from Goa to Europe^l. It would be endless to recount the miseries and disasters which the first adventurers underwent, and the many species of calamity which they sustained, or to which they became victims.

Nor was the conquest of India a less hazardous and daring atchievement, than its first discovery, and the navigation from Europe to the coasts of Asia. The Portuguese commanders by no means found that quarter of the globe, in the situation of Peru and Mexico when invaded by the Spaniards. The Samorin of Calicut, the Kings of Ormus, Cambay, Visiapour, and Malacca, were powerful, and highly civilized princes. They possessed not only fire-arms, artillery, and a degree of military discipline; but likewise, large vessels, far superior in size and dimensions to those of Portugal. If their own subjects could not be esteemed in general

Impediments of the conquest of India.

^h Ibid. p. 157 Osorio, vol. i. p. 153.

ⁱ Osorio, vol. i. p. 171.

^k Lafitau, vol. iii. p. 46

^l Ibid. p. 52.

CHAP. a martial people, they supplied the defect by
 IV. employing mercenary auxiliaries, who fought
 1574. with determined courage, and equal skill. Turks, Patans, Arabs, and Abyssinians, composed in that age a principal part of the armies of the Asiatic sovereigns. The Malays were a perfidious and desperate enemy, difficult to vanquish, and still more difficult to retain in subjection. Venice, from political and commercial rivalry to Portugal, furnished the Samorin with engineers, scientifically versed in the practice of managing artillery. Even the Portuguese themselves, unrestrained by patriotism or loyalty, had no sooner arrived in India, than they frequently deserted from their standards, joined the first prince who offered protection or reward, and soon instructed them in the knowledge of tactics, as practised by their own countrymen. Albuquerque made some examples of these Renegadoes, calculated to strike terror. All who were taken prisoners at the surrender of Benasterin, in 1513, after being exposed to the insults of the people, were deprived of their noses, ears, their right hands, and the thumb of the left hand. In this deplorable condition, he sent them home prisoners to Portugal^m. When he had taken possession of Ormus in 1515, he discovered that seven Portuguese soldiers had passed over to the Arabs. He caused them to be pursued, brought back, and burnt alive in the same boat which had

Severities
 exercised
 by the
 viceroys.

^m Osorio, vol. ii. p. 87, 88.

served

served them to effect their escapeⁿ. We can scarcely condemn him for such acts of severity. Yet these, and other equally rigorous punishments, inflicted on them by subsequent viceroys, could not cure the evil.

CHAP.
IV.
1574.

Greater intrepidity or resources were never, perhaps, exerted in the history of any country, than the generals and commanders displayed, who conquered India. Almeyda, Albuquerque, and Castro, obtained the most signal victories, under every disadvantage. The defence of Cochin by Edward Pacheco, may rank with the most illustrious exploits of the Consular ages of Rome. If the two sieges of Diu have justly immortalized the names of Sylveira and of Mascaregnas, that of Goa covered Ataïde with equal glory. The Portugueze seemed to perform exploits above the powers of man; and in perusing the narrations transmitted of them by the contemporary writers, we may almost conceive ourselves among the Paladines of romance. No effort seemed to be above their strength, or fortitude, or perseverance, when impelled by honour, and the service of their country. To cite examples of the fact, would be to transcribe the whole history of that period; they occur in every page. Mendoza, Governor of Ormus, being anxious to transmit accounts to the court, of his situation, and of the posture of affairs in Asia, in 1528; Anthony Terniec voluntarily undertook to carry dispatches across the then

Courage
and re-
sources of
the Portu-
gueze.

Terniec's
passage
across the
desert.

ⁿ Lafitau, vol. i. p. 515, 516.

C H A P.

IV.

1574.

unknown deserts, which divide Bassora from the coast of Palestine, and thus to reach Lisbon by way of the Mediterranean. He actually traversed the great desert, mounted on a dromedary, accompanied only with one Arab as his guide, and steering his course by a compass. After encountering every species of danger, he executed his commission, embarked from Tripoli in Syria, and landing in Italy, got safe to Portugal. However familiar the present century is become with this passage, which cannot however even now, be undertaken without considerable hazard, it was then regarded as almost impossible; and Terniec long formed an object of wonder to his countrymen, who followed him in crowds, to hear the relation of his adventures.ⁿ

Voyage of
Botello.

Bold as that undertaking may be considered, it was eclipsed by another of Diego Botello; who, after the cession of the important settlement of Diu to Acugna, in 1536, set sail from the harbour of the place, situate in the Peninsula of Guzurat, with a determination to carry home to John the Third, the first news of the acquisition, and to anticipate all other intelligence. It can scarcely be credited, that the galley in which he undertook to effect the voyage, was only twenty-two feet in length, twelve in breadth, and six in height. He had on board her, five Portugueze, and some slaves, who were ignorant of his intention; but, partly

ⁿ La Clede, vol. i. p. 677, 678.

C H A P.

IV.

1574.

by force, and partly by promises, he prevailed on them to proceed. During the passage, in consequence of continually exerting his voice to enforce obedience, or to conduct the boat, he was seized with such a total extinction of speech, that for the space of fourteen days, he could only issue his directions in writing. A mutiny having taken place among his little crew, he steered the galley himself; passed the Cape of Good Hope; touched at the islands of the Azores, situate in the midst of the Atlantic; and at length entered the Tagus in safety, bringing the earliest information of an event which spread universal joy over the whole kingdom. It may be justly doubted, whether in the present age, when navigation has attained to so high a point of perfection, aided by all the assistance of science; any greater instance of nautical skill, intrepidity, and success, can be adduced, even in our own naval annals. The most extraordinary performances of that nature in the British navy, within the last thirty or forty years, have been the result of necessity and despair; where shipwreck, mutiny, or other accidents, have compelled the survivors to face the dangers of the deep, in an open boat. But, Botello voluntarily exposed himself to all these calamities, from the desire of rendering a service to his country, and acquiring fame or consideration. Unhappily, this fortunate temerity caused no little alarm in the court of Lisbon, from the incontestable evidence which it bore to the possibility

Incredible
success of
it.

C H A P. sibility of traversing the immense ocean inter-
 IV. posed between Europe and India, in so small
 1574. a vessel. In order to conceal as much as possible, the knowledge of the fact from all foreigners, Botello's galley was actually burnt by order of the King; and he himself, after performing so unparalleled a voyage, was long left to languish, unrewarded.^p

Exploit of
 Carasco.

Lopez Carasco, in 1569, commanding a ship, on board of which he had only forty sailors, found himself surrounded by the fleet of the King of Acheen, off the harbour of that place in the Island of Sumatra, near the Straits of Malacca. The enemy had under their orders above a hundred sail, and it would have been easy for Carasco to avoid them; but, disdain- ing flight, he prepared immediately for battle. During three days he sustained the attacks of the whole fleet, and repulsed several of the gal- lies which attempted to board his vessel. After disabling or sinking near forty of the King of Acheen's ships, and killing a vast number of his troops, they finally retreated; and Carasco arrived safely at Malacca^q. The Portuguese commanders never accepted any terms from the Asiatics, however honourable, or advan- tageous they might appear: like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, they either conquered, or died upon their post. During above seventy years after the arrival of Gama in the Indies, no in-

^p Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 218—220.

^q La Clede, vol. ii. p. 202, 203. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 655.

stance occurs of a surrender by capitulation. CHAP.
The first example given, was that of George de IV.
Castro, in 1574. After gallantly defending the }
fortress of Challe near Calicut, for a consider- 1574.
able time, against the utmost efforts of the
Samorin, he was prevailed on by the entreaties
of his wife, and by the advice of his officers,
to capitulate, before any breach had been ef-
fected in the works. For this act of baseness,
or of timidity, he was afterwards beheaded on
a scaffold, in the city of Goa, at the age of
fourscore years^r. We may question whether
at any period of the reign of George the Third,
the honor of the British arms, and the lustre
of the British flag, have ever been carried to
a greater height in Asia, than the Portuguese
troops and fleets attained under Emanuel, John,
and Sebastian.

Many of the viceroys or governors, employed Sublime
under the two former of those princes, prac- instances
tised the most disinterested, we might per- of virtue
haps say, romantic virtue, and were superior and disin-
to every temptation of a personal nature. At terested-
the decease of Henry de Meneses in 1526, only ness.
one hundred ducats were found in his coffers; Meneses.
and his relations lay under a necessity of bor-
rowing the money requisite to defray the ex-
pences of his funeral. When frequently im-
portuned by his friends, to pay some attention
to his private concerns, he replied, "If I live,
" the King my master will give me bread: if

^r Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 667, and p. 676.

" I die,

CHAP. " I die, he will extend his pity to my chil-
IV.

1574. " dren'." It is difficult, to say how far we
Acugna. can approve, however much we may admire, such self-disregard. Nugno d'Acugna, who occupied the high situation of governor-general during ten years, and who might have amassed immense treasures, expired poor; and when dying, protested that he had not in his possession any thing belonging to, or taken from another, except six or seven pieces of gold coin of the Sultan Badur, which he had preserved on account of the delicacy of the die, in order to present them to the King his master.^s

Galvan. The virtue of Anthony Galvan, who was sent governor to the Molucca islands, by Acugna, seem still more uncommon; and unless such severe virtue constitute its own reward, can hardly be proposed for imitation. The delays which were purposely framed in order to prevent his departure from Cochin, being highly prejudicial to the interests of the crown of Portugal; and the want of pecuniary funds serving for a pretext to detain him, he employed his whole private fortune, which was very ample, in the equipment of vessels to carry him to his destination. He even sold his plate and furniture, to supply the remaining deficiency. During the period that he governed the Moluccas, order, justice, and benevolence characterized all his actions. Yet, this exem-

^s Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 93—95. La Clede, vol. i. p. 670.

^t Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 284—286.

plary and generous subject, who merited so highly of his country and of his sovereign, found all ears and hearts closed against him, when he returned poor to Lisbon. To the disgrace of Portugal, and of human nature, we are compelled to state that Galvan was reduced to seek an asylum in a public hospital; where during fourteen years he continued to attend on the sick as the only means of subsistence, without ever receiving the slightest assistance from his ungrateful countrymen^u. Such treatment, and such neglect, seem to impeach the character of the government, as well as of the nation.

CHAP.
IV.
1574.

When Stephen de Gama succeeded to the supreme administration of India, he immediately caused an exact inventory to be made of all his personal effects; in order by that means to evince that he did not either wish, or intend to augment his private fortune, at the expence of the state. Alfonso de Sousa having soon afterwards superceded him, Gama, previous to his embarkation for Europe, ordered a new estimate of his property to be completed; by which it appeared, that he had expended a very considerable part of it for the King's service^x. John De Castro, Viceroy of India, covered with glory acquired by the greatest victories, declared on his death-bed, that "having on account of the public necessities, con-

Stephen
de Gama.

John de
Castro.

^u Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 222—234, and p. 286.

^x Ibid. p. 294, and p. 319.

"tributed

C H A P. “tributed or advanced every thing belonging
 IV. “to himself, he remained destitute even of
 1574. “common necessities; that he possessed not
 “the means wherewith to purchase a pullet,
 “which his physicians had ordered him; and
 “that he must call on the State to supply
 “him with food, during the short time that
 “he might still remain alive.” It is difficult
 to parallel, and impossible to exceed these
 sublime instances of disinterestedness, among
 the most illustrious characters of antiquity.

Crimes and
 vices of the
 Portu-
 gueze.

Tyranny.

But while we pay the just tribute of praise
 and admiration to such exemplary displays of
 public virtue, it would degrade the truth of
 history, if we were to conceal that they were
 contrasted with equal vices and crimes. The
 Portugueze seemed to consider India as a coun-
 try belonging to themselves exclusively, from
 the instant of its discovery; though they were
 compelled in the beginning, to assume the lan-
 guage of entreaty, in order afterwards more
 effectually to become tyrants. Even towards the
 King of Cochin, who from their first arrival in
 Asia, adhered to them inflexibly, and incurred
 every hazard by his attachment to their inte-
 rests, they behaved with ingratitude and injus-
 tice. It forms a just subject of regret, that
 our own recent treatment of our earliest Asiatic
 ally on the coast of Coromandel, Mahomed
 Ally, Nabob of the Carnatic; whose invariable

† Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 415—418. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.

adherence

adherence thro'out every change of fortune, we repaid in a similar manner; furnishes too close an analogy between the two nations. Towards those princes who ventured to oppose, or impede their establishment, the Portugueze acted with relentless violence, and obdurate cruelty. Numerous proofs of this assertion, are furnished by their own writers. Many of them which are shocking to humanity, call for execration. Vasco de Gama, on his second voyage in 1502, met with the "Moeris," near the coast of Malabar; a very large vessel belonging to the Sultan of Egypt, bound from Calicut to Mocha. He instantly attacked, captured her, and plundered her cargo, which was exceedingly valuable. Having then selected from among the crew and passengers, twenty children, whom on account of their tender age, he destined for a monastic life, in the convent of the Virgin, at Belem, near Lisbon; he proceeded to sink the ship itself, with near three hundred persons on board. Not being able to effect it so speedily as he desired, he had the barbarity to set fire to the vessel, and to consume in the flames, these innocent and unfortunate victims. The mixture of bigotry and of reflective atrocity in the proceeding, renders it still more detestable; while it strongly characterizes the spirit of the age, which almost always made religion subservient to purposes of ambition, revenge, or rapacity.

On Gama's approach to Calicut, finding that the Samorin would not enter into such terms of accommodation as he had proposed, he caused
fifty

C H A P.

IV.

1574.

Cruelty,
and acts of
violence,
committed
by Vasco
de Gama.

CHAP. fifty fishermen to be hanged, whom he had captured off the harbour. After the execution, which was performed in sight of their countrymen on the shore, he ordered the hands and feet to be cut off from the dead bodies; and having collected them on a raft, he took advantage of the tide to set them afloat, and transport them to land. We scarcely know in what language to express our abhorrence of such atrocious acts. Yet Osorio scarcely manifests any condemnation of this last enormity, which he coldly attributes to the admiral's resentment of the Samorin's duplicity^z. Even Albuquerque himself is not exempt from the imputation of great severity, towards the inhabitants of Ormus, and on other occasions. Goëz, who commanded a vessel in the fleet of Laurence Almeyda in 1506, being stationed on the coast of Malabar, and separated from the rest of the squadron, fell in with a ship, the captain of which produced a passport from Britto, the Portuguese governor of Cannanore. Confiding in its protection, he attempted no resistance; but Goëz, stimulated by avarice and rapacity, affected to doubt its authenticity, or to regard it as extorted by compulsion. Under these pretences, having first plundered the vessel, he next proceeded to sew up the crew in the sails: he then threw them into the sea, and sunk the ship, with his cannon. Though this action, com-

Enormities
of Goëz.

^z Osorio, vol. i. p. 131, 132, and p. 133. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 171, 172, and 173. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 93 and 94.

mitted

mitted with deliberate cruelty on defenceless men, sailing under the safeguard of Portugal, was in itself equally detestable and impolitic; and though the inhabitants of Cannanore, driven to madness by the sight of the dead bodies which floated on the shore, immediately rose in arms, and laid siege to the citadel; yet Almeyda, then Viceroy, instead of bringing the culprit to immediate trial, or sending him in chains to Lisbon, no otherwise punished Goëz than by depriving him of his commission, and withdrawing from him his future friendship.^a

C H A P.
IV.
1574.

The Molucca islands, which, from the valuable nature of their productions, became in a peculiar degree objects of the highest attention to the crown of Portugal, exhibited a continual scene of rapacity, oppression, and enormities. Aerio, King of the island of Ternate, who was twice sent prisoner to Goa, loaded with irons, by the governors; was twice conducted back to his dominions with honor, by order of the Viceroy, John de Castro. But, after his decease, in 1557, Edward de Sa having been named to command in Ternate, he first seized on Aerio, his aunt, and brother; then having chained them to a cannon in the citadel, he forbade any sustenance to be given them. The indignation of the Portugueze and of the natives, having obliged him nevertheless to relax from this inhuman order, he then attempted, but ineffec-

Similar
cruelties
practised
in the Mo-
lucca
islands.

^a Osorio, vol. i. p. 261, 262. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 228, 229.

tually,

C H A P. tually, to poison his captives. After retaining
 IV. Aerio eighteen months in prison, he was at
 1574. length released, and reinstated in his dignity
 by the Portuguese themselves; who, by a just
 retribution, having deposed de Sa, threw him
 into the confinement from which they had de-
 livered the unfortunate Prince^b. Yet Lopez
 Mesquita, who succeeded to the place of Ed-
 ward de Sa, surpassed him, if possible, in pro-
 fligacy and barbarity. His nephew, Alfonso
 Pimentel, with his own hand murdered Aerio,
 by stabbing him in three places with a poniard.
 The crime, base in itself, was further aggra-
 vated by the circumstance of the King's being
 unarmed, and having come to justify himself
 to the governor, for some pretended infractions
 of treaty. Aerio expiring, exclaimed to his
 assassins, "Why do you thus kill the most
 "faithful vassal of the King, my lord, and your
 "master?" He had been during thirty-five
 years, and notwithstanding a thousand injuries,
 constantly attached to Portugal. Mesquita even
 refused his body, to the tears and supplications
 of his wife and daughters. By a refinement in
 cruelty, he caused it to be cut in pieces, put
 into a chest, and thrown into the sea. It is
 only just however to add, that John the Third
 was no sooner informed of these crimes, than
 he ordered Mesquita to be transferred in chains
 to Ternate, the scene of his transgressions,
 there to suffer the punishment of a public and

Assassina-
 tion of
 Aerio.

^b La Clede, vol. ii. p. 34. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 452—456.

ignominious death. The vessel which carried him from Malacca, being attacked and taken near the island of Java, Mesquita perished by a death too honorable for such a monster, fighting desperately, though loaded with heavy irons^c. His excesses, and those of the preceding governors of Ternate, so alienated the affections of the natives, that in the course of a few years, they expelled the Portugueze from all the Molucca islands.

C H A P.
IV.
1574.

Another Mesquita of the same family, being in command of a squadron appointed to act against the Samorin of Calicut in 1562, renewed the cruelties of Goëz, almost at the same place, in the vicinity of Cannanore, on the coast of Malabar. Having captured at different times, twenty-four vessels of the enemy, he first sunk them, and afterwards deliberately put to death the crews. Some, he beheaded; others, he hanged; and many of them he caused to be sewn up in the sails of their own ships, and thrown to the waves. Far from inflicting any exemplary punishment on Mesquita, the Count de Redondo, then Viceroy, in reply to the Samorin's complaints, answered coolly and insultingly, that "they were disobedient subjects who had committed the acts in question;" adding that "he might take, and punish them, if he could^d." The dagger, or poison, were frequently and avowedly admi-

Crimes of
Mesquita.

Poison, and
murder.

^c La Clede, vol. ii. p. 197, and p. 205, 206. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 457—462.

^d Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 584, 585.

C H A P.

IV.

1574.

nistered by the governors and other officers, to such persons as they either dreaded, or could not otherwise vanquish. During the time of Manuel de Lima's government of Ormus, in 1548, an Abyssinian, by name Abdalla, having revolted, intercepted the Portugueze commerce in the gulph of Persia, and spread terror over the whole adjoining country. Lima having ineffectually attempted to reduce this rebel by force of arms, had recourse to a Gallician, who undertook to assassinate him in his camp, for a stipulated recompence. He performed the service, and received the reward promised; nor was any disapprobation expressed by Garcia de Sa, or by Cabral, who then governed India, at the public commission of so infamous a crime^e. Louis de Ataïde, when Viceroy himself, did not scruple to cause Cutial, admiral of the Samorin's fleet, who had been taken prisoner by the chance of war in a naval engagement, in 1571, to be poisoned at Goa. The bravery and high reputation of Cutial, which constituted his only faults, proved fatal to him^f. It must be owned that it was not thus the Romans, under the Emilii and the Scipios, subjected their enemies.

Princes of
Asia, sent
as captives
to Goa.

Goa presented continually the melancholy spectacle of Asiatic princes, conducted in chains to the feet of the Viceroys, demanding redress for wrongs committed, which they rarely

^e Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 420—421.

^f Ibid. p. 654, 655.

obtained

obtained from the conquerors. As early as the year 1515, the great Albuquerque, desirous to retain Torun Sha, King of Ormus, in continual dependency and apprehension, caused fifteen princes of the royal blood, whom the cruel policy of the east had deprived of their eyes, to be transported to Goa, together with their wives and families^g. During some years they were liberally maintained at the public expence, and treated with humanity. But, before 1540, the survivors were fallen into a condition so abject, that one of them constantly sat under a tree, demanding alms in these words; "Give charity to a poor prince, whose eyes have only been put out, in order to deprive him of his dominions^h." Mahmud, King of Ormus, who had been conducted in irons to Goa, under the government of Nugno d'Acugna, pleaded his own cause in 1544, before Alfonso de Sousa, and the supreme council of the Indies. He declared on that occasion, that "the Portugueze had proceeded to such extremities of violence against him, as to tear out the hair of his beard, to throw his turban on the ground, and even to tie him down, under the false pretence of his being insane." Sousa, equally convinced of his innocence and of his sanity of mind, caused him to be sent back to his capital, with external marks of honour. But, in performing this apparent act

Treat-
ment of
the King
of Ormus.

^g Lafitau, vol. i. p. 514. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 463.

^h Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 331, 332.

CHAP. of public justice, he committed a no less cruel
 IV. outrage on the unhappy Prince. Previous to
 1574. his embarkation and return, he compelled Mahmud to resign all his rights of independent sovereignty; and at the same time, by an authentic instrument, to make over his revenue to the crown of Portugal, in discharge of debts pretended to be due by him to John the Third, his liege lord. As a compensation for the loss of his revenues, the debt was declared to be expunged, and a certain annual establishment was fixed for his future supportⁱ. Here too, the history of the English in Bengal, as well as in the Carnatic, within the last twenty years, though not marked with the same atrocious features, yet may furnish too striking a similarity to the conduct of the Portuguese, in almost every leading particular. Nor can it be held a sufficient excuse for our acts of rapacity or violence, that we have not proceeded to the last severities against the Asiatic princes. The mild spirit of the nineteenth century, would not have tolerated in the delegate of a British king, the enormities committed three hundred years ago, by the lawless discoverers and conquerors of India. Yet have Calcutta and Madras witnessed scenes within the last thirty years, not very dissimilar from those performed at Goa and at the Moluccas, under the Portuguese viceroys. After the renunciations extorted by Sousa from the unfortunate Mahmud, he was

ⁱ Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 332—334.

allowed

allowed to revisit Ormus: but no sooner was he arrived, than his persecutors, who had insulted and sent him prisoner to Goa, administered poison to him, of which he expired. Neither was punishment inflicted, nor even enquiry made, into the authors of so execrable a crime.

A petty prince, residing in the neighbourhood of Cochin, a city on the coast of Malabar, whom the Portuguese distinguished by the name of "the Pepper King," from the great quantity of that article of spice which was produced in his territories; having incensed Francis de Sylva, governor of the citadel of Cochin, perished in a still more lamentable manner. He, with all his wives, were burnt in their own palace, by Sylva; they not being able to effect their escape, before they found themselves surrounded with the flames. This event happened in 1549, under the government of Cabral^k. The women and children were generally massacred, whenever a place was entered by storm. Numberless instances might be cited of this kind. At the sack of Tatta, a town situate on the banks of the river Indus, by Peter Barretto, in 1555; besides eight thousand persons who were put to the sword, incredible as it may appear, even the animals found in the city, were involved in the undistinguishing carnage^l. It would seem as if Barretto, who, notwithstanding his ferocity, was probably a zealous and bigotted Catholic, might take for his model

CHAP.
IV.

1574.

Other examples of similar enormity.

^k Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 426—428.

^l Ibid. p. 536, 537.

C H A P.

IV.

1574.

Rapacity
of the vice-
roys.

in this slaughter of the animals at Tatta, some precedents of a similar destruction among the beasts, enjoined to Joshua in the books of the Old Testament; thus covering with the cloak of religion, his unprovoked hostilities; and converting an act of sanguinary outrage, into a species of cruzade. The rapacity of many of the viceroys and inferior officers, was not less flagrant than their cruelty. The kings of Ormus, Cannanore, and Cochin, groaned beneath intolerable vexations and oppressions. Even the sanctity of religion afforded no protection; and the Hindoo Pagodas were plundered and violated by the Portugueze, wherever their situation exposed them to attack. The court of Lisbon, though at first, from a spirit of savage and intolerant bigotry, it encouraged these enormities, attempted afterwards to restrain them; and even expressed strong condemnation of the principle which could dictate such profanations. Alfonso de Norogna, during his viceroyalty in 1552 and 1553, committed extortions upon the princes of Cotta, Columbo, and Ceitavaca in the island of Ceylon, so exorbitant and accumulated, that the complaints of those wretched victims reached the ears of John the Third. Norogna was ordered to make restitution of his plunder, but, no otherwise punished for his crimes.^m

^m Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 492—505, and p. 335—337, and p. 425, 426

To the wanton abuse of unlimited power, and the cravings of insatiable avarice, was unhappily joined a third passion, frequently more violent, sanguinary, and destructive, than even the two former; namely, religious zeal. It operated with unrestrained influence, from the highest, to the lowest orders; and with greater force, because it was regarded by them as a virtue. India had no sooner been conquered, than every part of the Peninsula became inundated with monks of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The Jesuits, under Francis Xavier, followed in 1542. That intrepid zealot, by birth a native of France, born at the foot of the Pyrenees, in 1506, came out to Goa, in the fleet of Alfonso de Sousa, with the dignity of Apostolic Nuntioⁿ. After rapidly visiting almost all the countries of Asia, in defiance of every impediment or danger, from Guzurat, to the Philippine islands and even Japan, in order to propagate the doctrines of the Romish Church; he expired at forty-six years of age, as he was on the point of landing in the empire of China. We have not yet imitated the Portuguese, in their ardor to diffuse the christian religion throughout our Asiatic possessions.

CHAP.
IV.

1574.
Religious
zeal.

Rage for
making
proselytes.

Catherine, Queen-regent of Portugal during the minority of Sebastian, animated by similar sentiments with St. Francis Xavier, obtained a Bull from Paul the Fourth, who then occupied

ⁿ Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 320—324.

CHAP. the chair of St. Peter in 1559, erecting Goa into
 IV an archbishoprick; to which metropolitan see,
 1574. Cochin and Malacca were declared to be Suffra-
 gans^o. Bishops were even sent to Abyssinia,
 by the desire of John the Third; and mission-
 aries penetrated into the interior provinces of
 that barbarous, as well as unknown country,
 where having excited troubles, they were either
 massacred, or died in extreme wretchedness^p.
 The inquisition was not indeed formally esta-
 blished at Goa, before 1548: but, its spirit
 and genius preceded its regular introduction.
 Under Alfonso de Sousa, in 1544, a Jew physi-
 cian, who refused to be converted to the Chris-
 tian faith, was publicly burnt in that city, by a
 slow fire^q. The obstinacy of one unhappy man
 who persisted in his errors, was however amply
 compensated by the multitudes of Persians,
 Hindoos, and Malays, who embraced Christi-
 anity. Ormus swarmed with proselytes^r. The
 Rajah of Tannor on the Malabar coast, having
 repaired to Goa, for the purpose of renouncing
 his original superstition, in 1549, was there
 solemnly baptized, with the utmost pomp and
 public demonstrations of festivity^s. Previous to
 this ceremony, the King of Candy, a prince
 who then occupied, as his successors still con-
 tinue to do, the central and most inaccessible
 portions of the island of Ceylon; having de-

Establish-
 ment of
 the inquisi-
 tion.

Number of
 converts.

^o Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 563.

^q Ibid. p. 342.

^s Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 436—439.

^p Ibid. p. 564—571.

^r Ibid. p. 435, 436.

^t Ibid. p. 443—443.

clared

clared his desire to be received into the bosom of the church, dispatched an embassy for the purpose, to John de Castro, then viceroy. But his sincerity became exceedingly and justly questioned by the Portugueze, because he demanded the assistance of a military force, as the price of his conversion. His subsequent conduct proved that he had only made it a pretence, in order to conceal his hostile purposes; for no sooner was the body of troops which he obtained, arrived in the vicinity of his capital, than he attacked, and endeavoured to cut them in pieces^r. If the Portugueze had contented themselves with receiving voluntary proselytes, or with attempting to inculcate on the natives the benign truths of Christianity, leaving those truths to their own operation on the minds of their auditors; such efforts would have been entitled to the highest applause: but their zeal knew no limits, and respected no obligations. The Hindoos were compelled to renounce their religion, by menaces of death; and captives taken in war, were immediately converted by the sword. It can scarcely, therefore, constitute matter of surprize, that, aided by those weapons, nothing could resist the progress of the Roman Catholic faith, thro'out Sebastian's Asiatic dominions.

Such are some of the various reflexions which occur, upon reading the history of this period; and such as we have here described, appear to

General
reflexions.

^r Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 440—443.

CHAP. have been the Portugueze of the sixteenth cen-
IV. tury, previous to the subjugation of the mo-
1574. narchy under the degrading yoke of Philip the
Second. The discovery and conquest of so
many rich, as well as commercial provinces of
Asia, opened a new theatre for the display of
the most heroic virtues, no less than for the
exercise of the most destructive vices. The
former do not excite admiration more forcibly,
than the latter inspire detestation and disgust:
the impartiality of truth demands, that both
should be held up to mankind in their proper
and genuine colours. It forms however in itself,
a portion of time strongly discriminated from
that which either preceded, or followed it, in
the history of Portugal. Pregnant with events
highly deserving commemoration, and contain-
ing matter peculiarly curious, no less than in-
structive, to posterity; it lays claim to more
than ordinary attention from every individual
of a nation, which occupies in the nineteenth
century, under George the Third, nearly the
same rank which the Portugueze had attained
under Sebastian, thro'out Asia.

CHAP. V.

ITALY.

General state of Italy, about the middle of the sixteenth century. — Review of the history of Savoy, from the accession, to the death of Charles the Third. — Reign of Emanuel Philibert, to the year 1574. — State of Savoy at that period. — Military force. — Marine.

ITALY, about the middle of the sixteenth century, presented in many of its great territorial subdivisions, nearly the same aspect which it preserved down to the period of the French Revolution. Savoy, together with Piedmont, was governed by its native princes, denominated dukes; who were then, as they continued to be till 1796, when their dominions were subjected to France, the guardians of the Alps. Being in possession of the principal defiles in that stupendous range of mountains, they could either greatly impede, or facilitate, the entry of any foreign enemy into Lombardy. Venice and Genoa then occupied almost the same portion of territory, and the same tract of sea-coast, along the shores of the Adriatic, and the Mediterranean seas, which they continued to possess till their final suppression as sovereign states, towards the close of the last, or the commencement of the present century. Milan was already reduced under the obedience

CHAP.

V.

General
aspect of
Italy in the
sixteenth
century.

CHAP. V. { ence of Spain, by the extinction of the ducal family of Sforza; as it since was incorporated with revolutionary France. Parma belonged to the house of Farnese; while Ferrara and Modena were governed by a branch of that of Esté. The family of Gonzaga reigned at Mantua. Advancing South, beyond the Apennines, the republic of Florence, after many fluctuations and changes of government, had submitted to the supreme controul of Cosmo de Medici; who, some years afterwards, received from the sovereign pontiff, Pius the Fifth, the title of *Great Duke* of Tuscany. The patrimony of the church, properly so denominated, though somewhat inferior in extent to its boundaries when the holy see was extinguished by Bonaparte, obeyed the Bishop of Rome. The kingdom of Naples, which in the present century has experienced, in common with all Italy, the scourge of French revolution; was then comprehended among the scattered provinces of the Spanish monarchy, and administered by viceroys sent from Madrid. Sicily likewise composed one of the numerous dependencies of Philip the Second's dominions. The inferior princes and republics of Italy were too feeble and insignificant, to merit attention or enumeration. Sardinia was included among the provinces subject to Spain. Corsica obeyed the Genoese. We shall review these different states, beginning with Savoy.

SAVOY.

The accession of Charles the Third, early in the sixteenth century, constitutes the period when the history of that Duchy becomes entitled to attention, or is implicated in the wars, negotiations, and general policy of Europe. By the death of his elder brother, Philibert the Second, without issue, Charles succeeded to his dominions, at the early age of eighteen years. His territories, though not extensive, nevertheless acquired consideration from their geographical position: an importance which was augmented by the circumstance of Louis the Twelfth, then King of France, having been engaged throughout his whole reign, in continual attempts to conquer, or to retain the Duchy of Milan; the most easy access to which, lay through Savoy and Piedmont. Besides this fact, peculiar to the period, several provinces which did not compose any part of the Duchy of Savoy, when conquered by France at the commencement of the revolution, were then included in Charles's patrimonial inheritance. Bresse, and Bugey, together with the cities of Geneva and Lausanne; as well as all that beautiful tract of country, extending along the northern bank of the lake of Geneva, denominated the "Pays de Vaud," formed a part of his dominions. During the first ten years of his reign, Charles not only secured the tranquillity of his subjects, but obtained a degree

C H A P.
V.

1504—

1515.

State of
Savoy at
the accession of
Charles the
Third.Extent of
territory.

CHAP. a degree of respect and consideration from
 V. foreign powers. He joined in the celebrated
 1504— league of Cambray, against the Republic of
 1515. Venice; aided Louis the Twelfth, on his
 various expeditions into the Milanese, and en-
 joyed an eminent place in the friendship of
 that monarch.^a

1516— The accession of Francis the First to the
 1519. crown of France, appeared to cement the
 union of Charles with a sovereign who stood
 in so near a degree of consanguinity to him;
 Louisa of Savoy, his sister, being mother to
 the new King. From this quarter, neverthe-
 less, he was destined to receive the greatest
 injuries, and to experience the most humiliat-
 ing mortifications. Though he had not only
 assisted Francis, but had furnished him with
 men, provisions, and artillery, before the bat-
 tle of Marignan; and had consequently been
 highly instrumental towards obtaining the vic-
 tory gained over the Switzers by the French, at
 that place; yet, these political obligations were
 soon obliterated by subsequent events. On very
 slight and vague pretences, the King declared
 war on him; and Francis was only restrained
 by the spirited remonstrances of the Swiss
 Cantons, which were accompanied with me-
 naces, from entering, and invading Savoy.^b

1520— The death of the Emperor Maximilian the
 1533. First, followed by the elevation of his grandson,
 War be-
 tween

^a Guichenon, Histoire de la Maison de Savoye, folio, vol. i. p. 620—625.

^b Ibid. vol. i. p. 625—629.

Charles of Austria, King of Spain, to the Imperial throne of Germany; two events which took place in the following year; while they opened a new scene in Europe, placed the Duke of Savoy in a situation of infinite peril and delicacy. Hostilities having soon commenced between Francis and the young Emperor; the theatre of war, which lay at first principally in the Netherlands, became speedily transferred to Italy. All the pretensions of Louis the Twelfth to the Duchy of Milan, having devolved upon his successor, that prince prepared to enforce them in person. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals, the King of France invaded the Milanese in person, at the head of a powerful army; and Charles yielded him a free passage through his dominions, while he at the same time professed, and endeavoured to observe, a rigid neutrality. Francis, after being vanquished at Pavia, was carried a prisoner to Madrid. In this state of depression, the Duke of Savoy exerted his utmost efforts, combined with those of Louisa, his sister, constituted Regent of France, to procure the King's release; and he took the same friendly, as well as active part in the negotiations, which some years afterwards preceded and produced the treaty of Cambray. Services, so reiterated as well as important, seemed to preclude the apprehension of any attack from a sovereign, connected with him by consanguinity and alliances. But, many subjects of discontent which were gradually arising between the two princes, terminated

C H A P.

V.

1520—

1533.

Francis the
First, and
Charles the
Fifth,Causes of
the rupture be-

CHAP. V. minated in separation and hostility. Charles having entered into ties of marriage and of policy with the Emperor, had espoused Beatrix, daughter of Emanuel, King of Portugal, sister to the Empress Isabella, wife of Charles the Fifth. He had likewise sent his eldest son, Louis, Prince of Piedmont, into Spain, to be educated in that country. He had received from His Imperial Majesty, the donation of the County of Asti; had renewed with him a general treaty of friendship, and had refused to entrust the castle of Nice to Pope Clement the Seventh, when demanded for the purpose of an interview between that pontiff and the King of France. Such multiplied causes of alienation sinking deep into the mind of Francis, he only waited for a proper occasion, in order to inflict on the Duke the utmost weight of his resentment.^c

1534.
Revolt and
independence of
Geneva.

While the storm impended from that quarter, a misfortune to which Charles seemed scarcely less sensible, befel him in another part of his dominions. The city of Geneva, over which place, the precise extent of his sovereign power and rights, had always been involved in a degree of obscurity or dispute; after contracting an alliance of confraternity with the two Swiss Cantons of Bern and Friburg, expelled its bishop. The doctrines of Luther, already diffused over all Germany, had been eagerly and generally imbibed in Geneva, where they had made a rapid progress. Charles, irritated

^c Guichenon, vol. i. p. 630—636.

at the conduct of the inhabitants, sent an army CHAP.
V.
1534.
to invest the city; but, the protection afforded them by their new allies, and the support openly given them by Francis, compelled him to desist from the siege. He might still have retained his civil supremacy, if he would have consented to sacrifice the episcopal jurisdiction, and to allow the exercise of the reformed religion. But, remaining inflexible on these points, the city, sustained by its own strength, and aided by the forces of the two Cantons, shook off all allegiance to the Duke of Savoy. Such was the origin of this small, but, highly celebrated republic; which, situated among the Alps, surrounded by numerous and powerful states, almost destitute of territory, and continually menaced by its original sovereigns, yet, during more than two centuries and a half maintained its independence. Geneva still exists, a monument of the advantages which result from religious toleration, added to civil liberty; tho' in common with Switzerland and Savoy, it was swallowed up during many years, in the conquests of revolutionary France.^d

The revolt of Geneva was speedily followed by decided hostilities on the part of Francis, whose troops having entered the two provinces of Bresse and Bugey, soon subjected them almost without opposition. Savoy, properly so denominated, made hardly a greater resistance: Chambery, the capital, surrendered, and the

1535—
1538.
Conquest
of Savoy
by the
French.

^d Guichenon, vol. i. p. 636—639. L'Art de verifier les Dates, tome iii. folio, p. 611, 612.

CHAP. fortress of Montmelian capitulated on the first
 V. summons; while the Duke made loud, but in-
 1535— effectual reclamations to his ally, the Emperor,
 1538. for assistance. Profiting of Charles's incapacity
 Subsequent to oppose any impediment, the Canton of Bern
 losses. improved the occasion for invading his domi-
 nions. Their forces over-ran the " Pays de
 Vaud," the Genevois, and the Duchy of Cha-
 blais, with the same facility that the French had
 advanced in another quarter. Even the inha-
 bitants of the " Valais," a narrow tract of coun-
 try lying between Switzerland and Savoy, hav-
 ing taken up arms, seized on a contiguous por-
 tion of Charles's territories; an example which
 was followed by the Canton of Friburg. The
 principality of Piedmont still remained in the
 possession of the Duke: but, Chabot, at the
 head of the French army having crossed the
 Alps, before the important pass of Suza had
 been secured, Charles abandoned Turin, and
 retired to Verceil, carrying with him the
 Duchess, and his son. Besides the loss of his
 capital, almost all the principal places and for-
 tresses of his dominions had been subdued by
 the generals of Francis: Pignerol, Chieri, and
 Carignan, fell successively into their hands.
 A small part of Piedmont; the mountainous
 province of Aöste, seated in the center of the
 Alps; together with the city of Nice situated
 upon the Mediterranean;—these three detached
 portions of territory, which alone continued un-
 subjected, remained constant in their allegiance.
 Under so deplorable a train of public misfor-
 tunes,

tunes, his distress was aggravated by the loss of CHAP.
 Beatrix, Duchess of Savoy, who died at Nice; V.
 1535—
 1538.
 after having sustained with uncommon fortitude, the numerous calamities by which she was surrounded. Her death had been preceded by that of Louis, Prince of Piedmont, which happened in Spain.*

The short truce which had been agreed on 1538—
 1541.
 between the Emperor and the King of France, Depressed
 state of
 Charles the
 Third.
 being only preparatory to a proposed interview, at which a definitive peace might be finally settled, Nice was fixed for the place of their conference. The reigning Pope, Paul the Third, having undertaken to mediate between the two sovereigns, demanded of Charles, that the castle of Nice should be delivered over into his possession as a deposit, during the space of forty days. But, the Duke, rendered cautious by adversity, and distrusting his allies no less than his enemies, refused to confide his only remaining fortress to any hands, however sacred, and pertinaciously adhered to his resolution. Upon the prolongation of the truce, which took place shortly afterwards, he was nevertheless reduced to receive Spanish garrisons into the towns of Verceil, Asti, and Fossano, places which had not been hitherto reduced by the French; and this involuntary compliance left him nearly destitute of either territory or revenue. Francis had even the cruelty to propose to him, in the subsequent year, to cede the County and city of Nice, in exchange

* Guichenon, vol. i. p. 640—646, and p. 657, 658.

CHAP. for a pecuniary compensation: but Charles having rejected the proposition with disdain, sent the King word, that “it was his determination to die Count of Nice.”^f

V.

1538—

1541.

1542—

1544.

Siege of
Nice, by
Barbarossa.

On the renewal of war between the Emperor and the King of France, Piedmont became again the scene of hostilities; while its unfortunate sovereign remained a passive spectator of the calamities entailed upon his people. The celebrated Barbarossa, admiral of the fleet of Solyman the Second, Emperor of the Turks, having joined the French gallies commanded by the Count d'Enghien, at Marseilles, they arrived before Nice, with two hundred ships. That city sustained all the attacks of the enemy, during twelve days; at the end of which time, the governor, Montfort, having capitulated, retired into the castle, determined there to resist to the last extremity. The combined forces of Solyman and Francis persisted in the siege, and made every effort to become masters of the fortress. But, after sustaining considerable losses, they were obliged to abandon the enterprize, and to retire with precipitation, as well as dishonour. This single instance of Charles's good fortune, was nevertheless productive of no further advantage; and the battle of Cerisoles, gained by the Count d'Enghien soon afterwards, over the imperial forces, completed the disasters of his reign. The remaining places of strength which he still continued to occupy

French and
Turks re-
pulsed.

^f L'Art de Verif. vol.iii. p.625. Guichenon, vol.i. p.647—649.

in Piedmont, immediately opened their gates, and received French garrisons. At the treaty of Crepy in Valois, concluded in the autumn of the same year, between the Emperor and France, only a few inconsiderable towns were restored to him; the far greater part of his dominions being held by the two rival powers, in sequestration, while the Duke saw himself equally despoiled by those with whom he was allied, and by those against whom he had taken up arms.²

The decease of Francis the First produced no change in the measures or policy of the French court. Henry the Second, who succeeded to the throne, adhered to his father's system; and far from relinquishing his acquisitions beyond the Alps, he, soon after his accession visited Piedmont in person, and made a public entry into Turin, as into a part of his hereditary possessions. Hostilities having subsequently taken place between Henry and the Emperor, Brissac, who commanded the French forces in that country, instantly recommenced his attacks upon the towns occupied by the Spaniards; several of which he captured, almost without opposition. The Duke found himself unable to check Brissac's progress; while the generals of the Emperor, unprepared, either retreated before the enemy, or made a feeble and ineffectual resistance. Such was the state of depression, or rather of extinction, in which

C H A P.
V.

1542—

1544.
Treaty of
Crepy.

1545—

1553.
Renewal of
hostilities.Death of
Charles the
Third.² Guichenon, vol. i. p. 649—654.

CHAP. Charles's affairs were involved, when he breathed his last at Verceil, at the age of sixty-six years. His pretensions, rather than his dominions, descended to his only remaining son, Emanuel Philibert, then serving in the armies of Charles the Fifth, on the frontiers of Picardy.^a

His character.

Charles the Third, Duke of Savoy, one of the most unfortunate princes of his time, possessed nevertheless many of the virtues, which in a period of tranquillity, would have secured his own felicity, and the repose of his subjects. Beneficent, liberal, just, clement, and anxious for the protection of his people, he had the calamity to be born in an age when these qualities could not be exercised, or were unproductive of benefit. Situated between two great rival monarchs, he was alternately sacrificed by both, as their policy, or their interests dictated. He possessed talents more adapted to a private, than to a public station. Capable of forming his plans with judgment, he was irresolute, indecisive, timid, slow, and embarrassed in the execution. From these defects in his character and measures, resulted the facility with which, not only the French, but even his less powerful neighbours, invaded and subjected his dominions. Like James the First, King of England, he negotiated or remonstrated, when arms alone could afford protection. Incapable of extending any assistance to his subjects, or of extricating them from a foreign yoke,

^a Guichenon, vol. i. p. 654, 655.

his death might be regarded as an event equally C H A P.
beneficial to them, and happy for himself.¹ V.

Few sovereigns have ever acceded to su- 1553.
preme power, under more adverse circumstances Accession
than Emanuel Philibert, whose sword seemed of Ema-
to constitute almost his sole inheritance: but, nuel Phil-
bert.
the endowments of his mind, which counter-
balanced the severity of his fortune, aided by
events, enabled him to retrieve the losses and
disasters, which had resulted from his father's
want of energy or decision. Emanuel Philibert,
who early displayed a martial propensity, had
been initiated in the rudiments of war, under
the most celebrated captains of the sixteenth
century. Charles the Fifth, impressed with a
conviction of his superior military capacity,
conferred on him the command of his forces;
and the Prince of Savoy was occupied in op-
posing the armies of Henry the Second, when
he received intelligence of his father's death^k.
That event was succeeded by new misfortunes 1554.
in his hereditary dominions. The French, who
continued to advance, became masters of al-
most all the remainder of Piedmont; while the
Turkish fleet appearing on the coast, menaced
Nice with a second attack.

From this period, till the conclusion of peace 1554—
at Cateau in Cambresis, including about six 1557.
years, the history of Savoy cannot with pro- State of
prietly be said to have any existence; the Piedmont.
duchy, as well as its dependencies, being in

¹ Guichenon, vol. i. p. 656. ^k Ibid. p. 660—667.

CHAP. a great measure lost, and incorporated with
 V. the French monarchy. The fortune of the
 1554— war, which had proved so favourable to
 1557. France beyond the Alps, continued to be long
 Battle of doubtful on the side of Flanders. But, the
 St. Quintin. ability of Emanuel Philibert, and the imprudence or misconduct of the Constable Montmorency who was opposed to him, brought the affairs of their respective sovereigns to a decisive issue, near the town of St. Quintin. The victory, which remained with the Spaniards, was one of the most memorable recorded in modern history. Montmorency fell alive into their hands; and if the timid, or narrow and jealous policy of Philip the Second, had not prevented him from profiting by the consternation spread among the enemy, it is highly probable that he might have derived from it greater advantages, than those which the battle of Pavia had formerly enabled Charles the Fifth to exact from France¹. A second victory, obtained over the French, in the following year, at Gravelines in Flanders, by Count Egmont, accelerated the conclusion of peace between the two crowns. One of the most material articles, which furnished matter for long discussion, as well as delay, related to the restitution of Savoy and Piedmont to their rightful prince. Humbled as France had been by recent and repeated defeats, the kingdom still abounded in resources to continue the war; and Philip found

1558,
 1559.
 Peace between
 France and
 Spain.

¹ L'Art de Verif. vol iii. p. 625.

it impracticable to obtain more than a partial restoration of the territories conquered by Francis and Henry, from Charles the Third.

C H A P.
V.
1558—
1559.

By the treaty of Cateau in Cambresis, the two kings equally retained many important places and garrisons, situated in the centre of Emanuel Philibert's dominions. The partition was, however, it must be confessed, unequal; France continuing to keep possession of Pignerol, Quiers, Chivas, and even Turin itself; while Spain only held Vercell and Asti. The marriage of the Princess Margaret, sister of Henry the Second, with the Duke of Savoy, formed the principal bond of this pacification; and the nuptials were shortly afterwards solemnized at Paris, without ceremony, in the utmost privacy, while Henry lay expiring, mortally wounded in a tournament by the Count of Montgomery. So unexpected and critical a Catastrophé might indeed have delayed, if not altogether subverted the recently concluded treaty. But, the French ministers probably did not chuse to commence the new reign, by an unprovoked violation of public faith; and the young King, Francis the Second, issued orders immediately after his accession, to execute rigorously the articles of the late peace. Savoy, with its capital, Chambery, and the fortress of Montmelian, being in consequence delivered up to commissioners, the provinces of Bresse and Bugey were surrendered in the same manner. Brissac during some time attempted to resist the restitution and evacuation of the strong

Death of
Henry the
Second.

Restitution
of Savoy
by France.

CHAP. strong places in Piedmont; but, upon the se-
 V. cond mandate which he received from his court,
 1560— he obeyed, and complied with the stipulations
 1563. of the treaty.^m

The Duke of Savoy, meanwhile, having resigned the government of the Netherlands, prepared to revisit his own country, from which he had been so long a wanderer, and an exile. His arrival at Nice was celebrated with demonstrations of general joy. The inhabitants, accustomed to a foreign tyranny, harrassed by hostile armies, and deprived of the presence or protection of their native sovereign, regarded his restoration as a new æra, from whence order and tranquillity might be expected to arise. It is in fact from this period, that the reign of Emanuel Philibert may be properly said to commence; as, previous to the restitution of his dominions, he was only a soldier of fortune. His administration justified the expectations of his subjects, and proved that his talents for government and legislation, were not inferior to his military capacity. The re-establishment of public justice, formed the first object of his solicitude: the protection of letters and arts, the foundation of seminaries for learning, and the most enlarged principles of policy, diffused felicity over a country, which had been for many years unaccustomed to the blessings of peace and security. All Italy seemed to participate in the happiness produced by his return,

Adminis-
 tration of
 Emanuel
 Philibert.

^m Guichenon, vol. i. p. 675—678. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 625, 626.

and

and by the voluntary expulsion of the French from Savoy. It could not, however, by any means be regarded as complete, while Turin, and so considerable a tract of Piedmont, remained still in their possession. The Duke long exerted ineffectually, every argument which might induce the court of France to relinquish the places occupied by their troops. Marshal Bourdillon opposed the same remonstrances to such a cession, as Brissac had formerly made: but the juncture was more favourable for Emanuel Philibert. Francis the Second had been succeeded by his brother, Charles the Ninth, a minor, under the regency of Catherine of Medicis, his mother; while Emanuel Philibert's Duchess had recently given him a son, which event still more closely connected him with that crown and family. Under these circumstances, the French court at length issued orders to restore Turin, and the other places in their possession; accepting in compensation for them, Pignerol, Perousa, and Savillan. Philip the Second having followed the example of France, by relinquishing his portion of Piedmont, Emanuel Philibert soon afterwards made his public entry into the capital of that province.^a

Restitution
of Turin,

The success which had attended his negotiations with Charles the Ninth, in some measure marked his exertions to recover the territories unjustly dismembered by the Switzers, during the reign of his father. The canton of Bern,

1564—
1566.

^a Guichenon, vol. i. p. 678—684.

after

CHAP.

V.

1564—

1566.

and of the
duchy of
Chablais.Persecu-
tion of the
reformed
religion.

after long delays, consented to restore all the country of the Chablais, lying to the south of the lake of Geneva; but they pertinaciously declared their resolution, rather to have recourse to arms, than ever to cede the "Pays de Vaux," or the city of Lausanne. The Duke was, therefore, obliged to content himself with this partial restitution. Anxious to regain Geneva, he employed persons to inspect the fortifications of the place, and entertained views of surprising it, when unprepared for defence: but, the apprehension of being involved in a war with the Helvetic confederacy, overawed, and compelled him to desist from his intentions. Elevated as was the mind of Emanuel Philibert, and beneficent as was his general administration, he yet partook of the intolerant and persecuting spirit, by which the age in which he lived, was characterized. His detestation of heresy, enflamed by the admonitions of the Holy See, induced him to attempt the extirpation of the reformed religion; which, sheltered in the vallies among the highest Alps, had there made a considerable progress. His forces having, not without difficulty and resistance, triumphed over the mountaineers of Angrogno, reduced them to submit to terms, by which liberty of conscience was granted, under certain conditions. With this only exception, which may be principally attributed to the genius of a century, when theological controversy and hatred had pervaded every class of society; the tenor of his public conduct, and
the

the maxims of his government, were equally dictated by wisdom and humanity. The security, as well as aggrandizement of his dominions, the introduction of science, and the protection of his people, formed the perpetual objects of his care ; at the same time that he systematically rejected every allurements of ambition, and deprecated the renewal of war, although eminently endowed with qualities to conduct it with success. While, on one hand, he refused to listen to the proposals of Solyman the Second, the Turkish Emperor, who offered him the possession of the island of Cyprus, which had been unjustly usurped by the Venetians, from his ancestors ; on the other, he adopted the wisest precautions to protect his subjects, and to preserve them from foreign invasions. Conscious that the calamities of his father's reign, had originated in that Prince's want of timely application to put himself in a posture of defence, he not only began the construction of a citadel at Turin ; but he levied a body of infantry and cavalry, throughout Savoy and Piedmont ; which forces being always completely disciplined and appointed, might be ready to repel an enemy, on the first alarm.^o

Ever attentive to the prosperity, and just augmentation of his territories, the Duke, without having recourse to arms, compelled the inhabitants of the " Valais" to restore to him the part of the province of Chablais which they

CHAP.
V.
1564—
1566.
Wise and
vigorous
policy of
Emanuel
Philibert.

1566—
1574.

* Guichenon, vol. i. p. 685—687.

had

CHAP. had seized and retained. But, apprehensive of
 V. the consequences that might result from the
 1566— civil and religious commotions by which France
 1574. was agitated, he wisely refused to absent him-
 self from his own dominions, at a time when
 He de- his presence might prevent the introduction of
 clines the command of the similar calamities into Savoy. Philip the Se-
 of the cond and the Venetians, having in alliance
 Christian fleet against with the Holy See, equipped a great naval ar-
 Selim the Second. mament to combat the Turks; Pius the Fifth,
 the reigning Pope, proposed to offer the su-
 preme command of the fleet to Emanuel Philib-
 bert, as to the ablest general in Europe. He
 declined, however, so distinguished a station,
 from a regard to the protection of his subjects;
 but, desirous of attesting his adherence to the
 cause, he sent his gallies to serve under Don
 John of Austria, at the battle of Lepanto. The
 arts of peace, together with the introduction of
 the benefits which only result from order and
 public security, engrossed his principal attention.
 His ill health having obliged him to interrupt
 these occupations, he repaired to the baths of Sa-
 vona; at which place he received intelligence of
 the accession of Henry the Third to the French
 crown, by a messenger whom the King dis-
 patched to him, previous to his escape from
 Cracow.^p

Felicity of
 Savoy, at
 this period.

There is scarcely any example exhibited in
 modern history, of a state so speedily and com-
 pletely retrieved from ruin, in the course of a

^p Guichenon, vol. i. p. 687—691.

few years, as that which Savoy presents under C H A P.
 Emanuel Philibert. At his father's decease, ex- V.
 cept Nice, he could hardly be said to possess 1566—
 any patrimony or territory. Two great monarchs, 1574.
 on opposite pretences, of amity, and of enmity,
 occupied his capital, fortresses, and provinces.
 The Swiss Cantons had joined to despoil him;
 and little probable prospect presented itself of
 ever compelling, or persuading such powerful
 States, to evacuate their conquests, and to with-
 draw their garrisons. But, fortune combining
 with the qualities of Emanuel Philibert, which
 were aided by the victory of St. Quintin, pro-
 duced that extraordinary event. He attained
 the solid glory of not only emancipating his
 subjects, from foreign oppression, but of re-
 storing Savoy to its just rank and preponder-
 ance in the scale of the Italian powers. In
 1574, though France still retained some places
 of consequence, and though the “ Pays de
 Vaux” was lost; Emanuel Philibert stood in a
 situation, which rendered his alliance equally
 important to Philip the Second, and to Henry
 the Third. His vicinity to the Milanese, which
 constituted a province of Spain, and the facility
 with which he could either defend or invade it,
 made him dreaded by the former prince. The
 French could neither penetrate into Italy, nor
 deem the southern provinces of Dauphiné and
 Provence secure, unless by his permission and
 consent. His people enjoyed the advantages of
 peace, without being unprepared for war; and
 a wise

C H A P. a wise administration had not only obliterated
 { V. the past calamities, but diffused general felicity
 1574. over the country.

Revenues.

It is difficult to ascertain, or even to form any accurate idea of the sum to which the revenues of Savoy annually amounted, at this period; but, they were probably very inferior to those of Tuscany. The mountainous regions of the Alps, covered with perpetual snows, and inhabited by a race of shepherds, or of laborious peasants, could ill furnish ample pecuniary supplies to the sovereign. The fertile principality of Piedmont, was of a small and limited extent. Nice, the only port possessed by Savoy on the Mediterranean, might rather be esteemed a naval arsenal, than a place of trade. We may judge how contracted were Emanuel Philibert's revenues, by the fact of his not disdaining to receive a pension from the Kings of France and Spain at the same time, and to retain it during his whole life. This gratuity was given him, under the form of a company of men at arms, consisting of a hundred soldiers each, clothed, appointed, and paid by the respective sovereigns. He formed the only instance in Europe of an independent prince, in the service of two great, and frequently hostile powers.^a

Military
force.

That the military forces of Savoy were not very inconsiderable, appears from the aid sent by the Duke to Charles the Ninth, in 1567, which did not fall short of three thousand infantry,

^a Brantome, vol. ii. Capit. Etrang. p. 158.

and

and near seventeen hundred cavalry^r. In 1574, CHAP.
in order to obtain from Henry the Third, res- V.
titution of Pignerol and its dependencies, he
offered that monarch a body of three or four
thousand auxiliary troops, to serve against the
Hugonots: but these soldiers, newly levied, and
ill equipped, seem to have performed no effi-
cient service^r. Savoy was not destitute of a Marine.
marine. Besides the naval force maintained at
Nice, which was destined to protect the coasts
against Turks or pirates, who infested the Me-
diterranean; Emanuel Philibert caused several
gallies to be constructed at Ripaille, a small
port and town situate on the lake of Geneva,
which he strongly fortified. They were in-
tended to secure the exclusive navigation of
that extensive lake; to overawe the Canton of
Bern, and to intimidate the city of Geneva^r.
With a view to form and perpetuate a body of
naval officers, he revived in 1572, the order
of St. Maurice, originally instituted by Ama-
deus the Eighth, one of his predecessors; an
order of knighthood exclusively affected to
persons of condition serving on board the
gallies.^u

^r Guichenon, vol. p. 638.^s Brantome, vol. ii. Capit. Etrang. p. 159, 160.^t De Thou, vol. x. p. 650.^u Guichenon, vol. i. p. 690.

CHAP. VI.

VENICE.

Review of the Venetian history, from the beginning of the thirteenth century. — Gradual aggrandizement of the Republic in Albania, Dalmatia, and Lombardy. — Seizure of the island of Cyprus. — Grandeur, power, and elevation of Venice, at the close of the fifteenth century. — Causes of its decline. — League of Cambray. — Inroad of the Turkish Sultans, on the territories of the Republic. — Conquest of Cyprus by Selim the Second. State of Venice, in 1574. — Commerce of the Republic, at that period. — Dominions. — Naval force. — Arts, and magnificence.

C H A P.
VI.

State of
Venice,
during the
middle
ages.

DURING the darkness and barbarism which overspread Europe in the middle ages, Venice lays peculiar claim to attention, and constitutes an object of the highest interest. That celebrated Commonwealth, which arose among the marshes of the Adriatic, was, by its local situation, eminently qualified for carrying on an extensive and advantageous commerce. The spirit which animated its government and citizens, widely different from the genius of chivalry, prompted to a line of public conduct, less generous and romantic, but far more beneficial to its subjects. When almost all the other European states, inflamed with the passion of rescuing

rescuing the Holy Land and Sepulchre from the Infidels, engaged in expeditions to Syria, Venice lent her aid and co-operation. But, steady to her interests, the Senate took effectual care to stipulate for advantages, which might compensate for the fleets and armies, equipped to prosecute these distant and precarious conquests. Valuable commercial immunities, exemptions from the payment of duties, even the possession and sovereignty of many districts on the coast of Palestine, were ceded to the Venetians, by the princes who engaged in the first Crusades ; and the Republic thus derived power and wealth, from the exertions which impoverished the surrounding countries.

This systematical regard to the augmentation and aggrandizement of the State, appears in no transaction of the time so strongly displayed, as in the part which Venice took, when Constantinople was attacked, and the Greek empire subverted by the Latins, at the commencement of the thirteenth century. While the most disinterested zeal actuated the adventurers, assembled to embark for the recovery of Jerusalem ; no entreaties or arguments could induce the Venetian Senate to furnish the fleet requisite for their transportation, without the previous payment of eighty thousand marks of silver. The princes and chiefs being unable, after every effort, to advance much more than a moiety of the sum demanded ; Dandolo, then Doge, and head of the Republic, contrived to turn even this circumstance to the public advantage. He

CHAP.
VI.
Wise policy of the Republic.

1202.
Aggrandizement
of Venice,

C H A P. VI. prevailed upon the Crusaders, in consideration of the Senate desisting from their claim to the remainder of the money stipulated, to aid him in subjecting the city of Zara, capital of Dalmatia, which place was speedily reduced to the obedience of Venice, by their united arms.^a

1203.

Acquisitions and conquests in the Levant.

The same interested and sagacious policy, always vigilant to improve the opportunities which fortune might present, for encreasing the dominions of the State, is equally visible in the partition made by the conquerors, after the capture of Constantinople. Dandolo, in the name of the Republic, and as her representative, received not only all the islands of the Archipelago, together with many ports in the Hellespont, and the Morea; but, one half of the imperial city itself was ceded in full sovereignty to the Venetians. The Marquis of Montferrat, to whom the island of Candia, one of the largest and most fertile in the Mediterranean, had fallen; was induced to sell that important possession to them, for the sum of a thousand marks of gold; and they soon afterwards effected its complete reduction. This valuable purchase had been preceded by the attack and conquest of Corfu, the Corcyra of antiquity, another island, far inferior to Candia in size; but nevertheless, from its position, near the entrance of the Adriatic, highly essential to the protection and security of the Venetian commerce. Colonies were sent into

^a Histoire de Venise, par l'Abbé Laugier, 12 tomes, vol. ii. p. 165 — 167.

both these possessions ; and every measure calculated for their improvement, which wisdom could dictate, was embraced by the Senate. Cephalonia, Negropont, and the principality of Achaia, which successively implored their aid, voluntarily submitted themselves to the republic. The Venetian industry, which kept pace with the progress of their arms, rendered Venice, before the middle of the thirteenth century, the wealthiest and most prosperous city of Europe. It is indeed, true, that the long wars, to which a spirit of political and commercial rivalry gave birth, between Venice and Genoa, retarded the progress of the former state, during a great part of the fourteenth century. The Commonwealths of Rome and Carthage, in antiquity, had not contended for the empire of the Mediterranean, with greater pertinacity ; and the Genoese, like the Carthaginians, during the second Punic war, had even reduced their rivals to a state of such humiliation, that the Venetians once appeared to be on the point of complete extinction. Chiozza, situated on the Adriatic, in the immediate vicinity of Venice, the port of which it protected nearly in the same manner as Cronstadt does the city of Petersburg, fell into the hands of the Genoese ; while that capital itself was closely invested on every side, by the victorious enemy. But, the imprudent security of the assailants, and the desperate valor of the Venetians, extricated the latter people from their situation, and restored them to their former

CHAP.
VI.

1203.

1204—

1350.
Wars with
the Ge-
noese.

1379.

CHAP. greatness. The enemy was repulsed, the war
 VI. became transferred to their own coasts, and a
 1381— peace having finally taken place, every acqui-
 1405. sition was mutually restored.^b

Venice ac-
 quires ter-
 ritories on
 the conti-
 nent of
 Italy.

No sooner was this storm overblown, which had menaced the Republic with destruction, than she turned her views towards the acquisition of territory on the neighbouring shore of Italy. Hitherto, her conquests, however important and considerable, had been effected at a distance from the capital; and Venice possessed scarcely any thing beyond the marshes with which she was surrounded, among the waves of the Adriatic. Availing herself of the favourable circumstances which presented themselves, she soon obtained a footing on the Continent. The province of the Trevisane, with the city of Treviso itself, were subjected before the conclusion of the fourteenth century; and early in the ensuing century, she acquired more valuable dominions. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, after having remained during many years, in possession of the family of Scala, had passed into that of Carrara. Francis the Second, then lord of those beautiful cities and their rich dependencies, might be esteemed the most powerful and formidable neighbour of the Commonwealth, on account of his immediate vicinity to the city of Venice. He had given umbrage to the Senate, by various acts of treachery or violence; and had become equally obnoxious to his own subjects, by his exactions and op-

^b Laugier, Histoire de Venise, passim.

pressions.

pressions. War was therefore declared against him; and though he made a long, as well as a desperate defence, he was ultimately deprived of his territories, taken prisoner, and in person conducted to Venice, as Perses or Jugurtha had been carried to antient Rome. Vicenza and Verona voluntarily transferred their allegiance soon afterwards from Francis de Carrara, to the Venetian state. Padua, after a siege, having surrendered, was in like manner incorporated into the Republic, with the unanimous consent of its citizens. Their immunities and privileges were carefully preserved by the enlarged policy of Venice, which in this respect likewise emulated the Roman principles; and which country, in consequence of these augmentations of territory, began to assume a considerable rank among the Italian states. The immense resources which that people possessed, may be in some degree estimated by a consideration of the expences incurred during the prosecution of the war against Carrara. They are asserted to have amounted to the incredible sum of two millions of ducats^c. No European power except Venice, could have sustained, in the period of which we are treating, so vast an expenditure.^d

CHAP.
VI.

1381—
1405.

Policy, and
wealth of
the Republic.

While they were thus becoming powerful at home, their foreign dominions augmented in a similar proportion. Many cities of Albania,

1405—

1440.

Foreign
conquests,
and domi-
nions.

^c Near nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

^d Laugier, vol. v. p. 194—245. Modern Universal History, vol. xvii. p. 113—121.

C H A P. VI. Epirus, and Greece, having implored their protection, sought to be received into the rank of subjects. The terror of the Turkish arms, which advancing rapidly under the Ottoman Sultans, menaced the Greek empire with speedy and total subversion, constituted the principal motive for inducing these petty states to reclaim the Venetian interposition. Argos and Napoli de Romania, two maritime cities, situate on the Eastern shore of the Morea, were sold by their possessor to the Republic, for a very inconsiderable sum. Lepanto, the Naupactus of antiquity, memorable for the two greatest naval engagements which history commemorates; that of Actium between Antony and Octavius, and the battle of Lepanto in modern times; fought by Don John of Austria against the Turks;—this important place, the capital of Livadia, followed the example of Argos, which was imitated by Patras. The possession of Lepanto and Patras, situate on opposite sides of the entrance of the Gulph of Corinth, rendered the Republic completely mistress of Greece on one quarter, as Negropont did on the other. Both were sold or ceded to her by the degenerate princes, descendants of the Palæologi, or the Comneni, who then feebly swayed the sceptre of Constantine, while their empire was reduced nearly to the walls of the imperial city. The province of Friuli, at the northern extremity of the Adriatic, next fell into the hands of the Venetians, after a vigorous resistance. Prosecuting their conquests, they successively invaded and subdued

Albania
 and Dal-
 matia sub-
 dued.

duced the territories of Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania, on the eastern shore of the same Gulph. The islands of Curzola, Lezina, and many others, which formed dependencies of Dalmatia and Albania, experienced a similar fate. Soon after the commencement of the fifteenth century, the vast tract of maritime country, extending from the mouths of the river Po, round the head of the Venetian Gulf, quite to the frontiers of Epirus, had become completely reduced to the obedience of the Commonwealth.

Attentive not less to the advantages of peace, and to the protection of commerce, than to the augmentation of their territorial possessions; the Senate, in the following year renewed the treaty subsisting with the Sultan of Egypt. The productions of India, transmitted by the Red-Sea, thro' Suëz, down the Nile, to Alexandria, being there received by the Venetians, were circulated over all Europe. Their utmost exertions were made at the court of Cairo, to secure the exclusive possession of this inexhaustible source of wealth, so essential to their grandeur; while on every side the Republic continued to extend its power and dominions. Corinth was ceded to them by the Greek prince, or Despot of the Morea, who dreaded its falling into the hands of Amurath the Second, the Turkish Emperor. The two valuable provinces of the Bergamasque and the Brescian, which formed part of the dependencies of the Milanese, were subjected by Venice, after a war of long continuance, sus-
tained

Commerce
of Venice.

Further ac-
quisitions.

CHAP. VI. tained against Philip Visconti, Duke of Milan.
 1440. That prince relinquished his title to Brescia and Bergamo, by a treaty of peace which took place between him and the Venetians. To these acquisitions was added Ravenna, which city, after having been mortgaged by its sovereign to the Republic, was voluntarily surrendered, some years afterwards, by the inhabitants.^e

1440.— Encouraged by the facility with which so many cities and provinces were conquered or obtained, the Senate ventured on an act of usurpation, most unjustifiable in its nature. The house of Lusignan had reigned for ages in Cyprus; and on the decease of James, the last male of that illustrious family, his dominions were secured by the powerful interposition of the Venetians, to his Queen Catherine Cornaro, niece of Andrew Cornaro, a senator of Venice. She was solemnly adopted by the Commonwealth; and in consequence of that protection, she received from the Sultan of Egypt, to whom the kingdom of Cyprus was tributary, the investiture of the island; though the right of blood had unquestionably devolved to Charlotte of Lusignan, sister to the deceased king. After having enjoyed the external honors of royalty during several years, the Senate, apprehensive that Catherine, at some time or other, might transfer her claims to a foreign state, and eager to gain possession of so rich a prize, compelled the unfortunate Queen to sign her own abdication. She consented with re-

^e Laugier, vol. v. vi. passim.

luctance;

luctance; embarked on board a Venetian fleet sent to escort her; and was detained in honorable captivity, during the remainder of her life, at the castle of Azolo, in the Trevisane. The similarity of the fate of Catherine Cornaro, with that of the unfortunate Maria Louisa, daughter of Charles the Fourth, King of Spain; herself Queen-regent of Etruria, dethroned by her Corsican master in 1808; proves how much history perpetually presents the same scenes, under different names. Both queens, after being elevated to a throne, were compelled by the same revolutionary hand which raised them, to descend from it; and both, detained in captivity, one at Azolo, the other at Marseilles, have exhibited alike monuments of the precarious nature of greatness, acquired or conferred by usurped power. After the departure of Catherine, the standard of St. Mark was immediately displayed at Nicosia and Famagosta, the two capitals of Cyprus. No attention whatever was paid to the reclamations of Louis, Prince of Savoy, who had married Charlotte of Lusignan, the rightful heiress; and the Egyptian Sultan having invested the ambassador sent by Venice, with the accustomed formalities, as sovereign, on condition of receiving a yearly tribute of eight thousand Ducats^f, the island of Cyprus became completely reduced to the obedience of the Republic.^g

^f A sum not very short of four thousand pounds.

^g Laugier, vol. vi. passim, and vol. vii. p. 447—480. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 217, 218.

C H A P.

VI.

1490—

1499.

Cession of
various
places in
the king-
dom of
Naples, to
Venice.

So incontestable a proof of rapacious ambition, accompanied with so flagrant a violation of all the principles of justice, did not fail to excite condemnation, and to spread an alarm thro'out all Italy. But, the Venetian power, cemented by wisdom, and sustained by commerce, continued still to make new acquisitions on every side. Trani, Otranto, and Brindisi, maritime cities situate on the eastern coast of Apulia, were ceded to them by Ferdinand, King of Naples, as the price of a body of auxiliaries, lent by the republic to that prince. Gallipoli, another important port and city of the same province, had been previously taken by their forces, from Alfonso, the predecessor of Ferdinand. Louis the Twelfth, King of France, from his eagerness to gain admission into Lombardy, contributed in his turn towards their aggrandizement. Previous to the attack which he made upon the Milanese, in the beginning of his reign, he, by treaty concluded with the Venetians, dismembered from that duchy, the territory of the Cremonese, the city of Cremona, and other possessions situated between the rivers Po and Adda. An army, commanded by Alviano, speedily took possession of them, almost without opposition."

1500.

Elevation
and grandeur of the
Republic,
at this
period.

It is at this era, with the conclusion of the fifteenth century, that we may date the highest point of elevation to which Venice attained ;

^b Laugier vol. vii. p. 433—435, and vol. viii. p. 58—61, and p. 95, and p. 107—110.

and

and from which eminence she almost immediately and rapidly began to decline. No object more worthy of historical attention, can present itself, than to contemplate the Republic in the Zenith to which industry, policy, and vigor had gradually conducted her, in the course of about three hundred years. The Venetian dominions then comprised some of the most fertile provinces of Lombardy, extending from the mouths of the Po, north to the confines of Carniola and the Tyrol, which formed part of the dominions of the house of Austria; together with a considerable tract of coast along the kingdom of Naples, at the other extremity of Italy. The whole eastern shore of the Adriatic, including Dalmatia and Albania, a great part of Epirus and the Morea, combined with the two islands of Candia and Cyprus, gave them an unlimited command of the Mediterranean and the Levant. These vast dominions were protected by a considerable army, and a still more formidable navy. Their arsenal, the best provided of any in Europe, was constantly supplied with every species of military weapons, and artillery: nor could any state vie with them in the celerity and facility which they possessed, of equipping a fleetⁱ. The commerce of Europe, and of Asia, might be said to center in the harbour of Venice; and with what vigilance the Senate defended this source of their greatness, is evident from their unremitted attention to retain the friendship of

C H A P.
VI.
1500.

Dominions.

Forces.

Trade.

ⁱ Mod. Univ. His. vol. xxvii. p. 246, 247.

the

C H A P. VI. the Mammeluc Sultans of Egypt, as well as of the Turkish Emperors. Repeated commercial treaties were made with those princes, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithstanding the prevailing prejudices which stigmatized as impious or criminal, all intercourse and connexions with the enemies of the Christian faith^k. The manufactures of glass and chrystal, altogether unknown in France and England, were confined to the Venetians exclusively, and were principally carried on at Murano, one of the marshy islands in the vicinity of the capital. Their beauty and rarity rendered them the admiration of all the European nations.^l

Revenues.

The revenues of the Republic were not only very considerable; but, such wealth had commerce diffused among every class of the people, that when the public treasure became drained by the continual and expensive wars in which Venice almost unremittingly engaged, resources were never wanting to find pecuniary supplies. It is not without astonishment, that we peruse the accounts transmitted by the most accurate historians of the age, on this article. The short war, carried on against Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, which scarcely lasted more than two years, cost three millions, six hundred thousand Ducats of gold, or above a million and a half sterling^m. No sovereign in Europe, at that period, could have found means to raise so vast a

^k Laugier, vol. vii. p. 474—477, and p. 376, 377.

^l Ibid. p. 41.

^m Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 214.

sum. In order to reimburse the public treasury, exhausted by such an expenditure, the Senate, immediately after the termination of hostilities in 1484, laid very severe duties on all foreign articles of merchandize imported into Venice. Every vessel entering the ports of the Republic, was compelled to pay one hundred Ducats, or near forty five pounds sterling, for the permission to drop anchor; thirty *per cent.* on the cargo; ten pence on every measure of wheat; and five Ducats on the measure of oil, in addition to the duties previously exacted. Such impositions, which approached nearly to a prohibition, gave rise to strong, but ineffectual remonstrances, from the city and republic of Ragusa, placed on the opposite coast of the Adriatic.^a

CHAP.
VI.
1500.

The civil administration of Venice was not only wise and vigorous; but, their system of jurisprudence was gentle and beneficent. The people, attached to their governors, by the security which they enjoyed, and by the impartial execution of the laws, manifested the warmest affection to the state. Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Ravenna, and many other petty Italian powers, eagerly sought to be admitted into their protection, and to become members of the Venetian Commonwealth. In order to accomplish it, they expelled their antient possessors, and opened their gates to receive the delegates sent by the Senate. Even during the most disastrous periods of foreign invasion, their allegiance

Wise and
beneficent
policy.

^a Laugier, vol. vii. p. 444—447.

and

C H A P. and fidelity, which remained unshaken, bore the
 VI. strongest testimony to the lenity, as well as to
 1500. the wisdom of the government.

Luxury
 and wealth.

All the arts that minister to luxury and splendor, were in no country arrived to so great a height during the fifteenth century, as at Venice. When the Emperor of Germany, Frederic the Third, and Leonora his wife, visited that city in 1452, their reception was beyond measure magnificent. Even the principal streets were hung with scarlet and purple silks, or decorated with cloth. Crowns of gold, ornamented with jewels, were presented to their imperial majesties; and the Venetian ladies offered to the Empress, a cradle and dress for a child, studded with gold, diamonds, and pearls, of immense value°. These marks of opulence and liberality were again exhibited, on Frederic's second visit to Venice, in 1469. The Emperor, together with all his attendants, tho' very numerous, were entertained at the expence of the Senate, during the period of his residence in their dominions^p. Nor were the polite arts and learning held in less estimation, than wealth and commerce. The library of St. Mark formed one of the earliest, and best endowed collections of that nature, which was founded in Italy, the nurse of modern science. Petrarch, so celebrated for his genius and poetic productions, gave birth to the institution itself, as early as 1365; and

Letters,
 and sci-
 ence.

° Laugier, vol. vii. p. 40, 41. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 183, 184. Note.

^p Laugier, vol. vii. p. 232.

the preference which he made of Venice above any other of the Italian cities, for depositing his literary treasures, proves how worthy he esteemed the Venetian people to possess so valuable a bequest. The Senate received the present with public testimonies of gratitude and satisfaction°. Above a hundred years afterwards, in 1468, the learned Cardinal Bessarion augmented this library, by the present of his numerous manuscripts. His letter to the Doge, Christopher Moro, and the answer of that supreme magistrate to the Cardinal, which still exist, are among the most curious and precious monuments of the fifteenth century, transmitted to us. They afford an incontestable proof of the high veneration in which learning was held at Venice, as well as of the respect paid to men of letters^p. The invention of printing was brought thither from Germany, in 1460, by Nicholas Jenson; who, from the ample privileges granted him by the Senate, speedily amassed a considerable fortune^q. Neither Rome, Florence, or Naples, in the fifteenth century, afforded the same protection to the arts, nor equal personal security for life and property, as did Venice. The temporal power of the popes, as sovereigns, was not yet sufficiently established in the former city, before the pontificates of Borgia and Roverè, better known as Alexander the Sixth, and Julius the Second. Florence, even under Cosmo and Lorenzo de Medicis,

Printing.

° Laugier, vol. iv. p. 164—167.

^p Ibid. vol. vii. p. 222—231.

^q Ibid.

CHAP. VI. was agitated by popular convulsions, and became the theatre of frequent commotions: while Naples, after the subversion of the Arragonese dynasty in 1494, overrun by the French, exhibited a scene of complete revolution.

Superiority
of Venice
to the
other ca-
pitals of
Europe.

Still less could any other European capital enter into competition with Venice at that period. London, only a rude accumulation of wooden buildings, the inhabitants of which city were deficient in every article of refinement; limited in its commercial transactions to a few staple commodities, and possessing scarcely any manufactures;—London had scarcely emerged from the sanguinary scenes, which, during the long contest between the two rival roses, deluged it with royal and noble blood. The despotism of Henry the Seventh was not less gloomy, and scarcely less ferocious, than the tyranny of Richard the Third. Nor did Paris possess any attractions to allure strangers, artists, or men of genius, to the banks of the Seine. Louis the Eleventh, and Charles the Eighth resided principally, and held their court, not at Paris, but in some of the royal castles along the Loire; particularly at Blois, Plessis-les-Tours, or Amboise. The French metropolis was destitute of every pretension to elegance, or even to comfort, cleanliness, and salubrity. It was not till the accession of Francis the First, in 1515, that any amelioration in these particulars, took place; as in England, similar improvements began to manifest themselves under Henry the Eighth and Wolsey, nearly about the same time. Lisbon, at the commencement of Emanuel's

nuel's reign, in 1497, was only preparing to burst from obscurity, under the auspices of Vasco de Gama. Spain, recently consolidated into one monarchy, had not properly any capital under Ferdinand and Isabella; who removed their court to Burgos, Toledo, Saragossa, or Seville, as circumstances dictated. As little could Vienna, Prague, or any of the German cities hold out temptations to visit them. At the close of the fifteenth century, a philosopher, a merchant, a man of science, or a voluptuary, would equally have chosen Venice for the place of his residence, in preference to any other of the great cities of Europe.

The discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope; an event which no wisdom could have foreseen, previous to its accomplishment; and the effects resulting from which, no exertions of the Venetian policy or arms could avert; gave the first mortal wound to a fabric, reared with so much skill. This great change, which took place about the conclusion of the fifteenth century, soon transferred the commerce of the east, from the Adriatic to the Tagus; from Venice, to Lisbon. Another event, which accelerated the downfall of the Republic, happened nearly at the same period, or followed it in quick succession. Louis the Twelfth, King of France, displeased at the Senate for having signed a truce with the Emperor Maximilian the First, against whom they were jointly engaged in war, determined on their humiliation. In order to effect it, he had

CHAP.
VI.
1500.

1500—
1508.
Causes of
the decline
of the Re-
public.

League of
Cambray.

CHAP. VI. the imprudence to unite with his natural and implacable enemies, Maximilian, and Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, for the destruction of Venice; the only ally beyond the Alps, upon whose friendship and adherence he could, or indeed ought to have relied. Julius the Second, then occupying the papal see, together with the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, acceded to this formidable confederacy; which had for its object, the reduction of Venice to her original condition, and the future limitation of her dominions to the marshes in which the city is situated, after having divided her spoils among the members of the league.¹

1509—
1516.

A single battle, gained by Louis in person, over Petigliano and Alviano, the two Venetian commanders, near Agnadel, decided the fate of the Commonwealth. Such was the consternation, which this unexpected victory occasioned, that all resistance seemed to cease on the part of the vanquished. The cities of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, were immediately surrendered to the French. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua having sent their submissions to Maximilian, possession was taken of those places by his commissaries. The papal troops at the same time over-ran the territory of Ravenna; while the provinces of Istria and Friuli were inundated with German forces; and of all the Venetian possessions in Italy, only the city of Treviso ventured to shut its gates against the enemy. Had the King of France, or the Em-

Conquests
of the con-
federates.

¹ Laugier, vol. viii. p. 186—205.

peror

peror of Germany, availing themselves without delay of these advantages, advanced to the capital; it is probable that Venice itself must have fallen, and the Republic might have been finally annihilated. But the misunderstanding and opposition of interests, which speedily arose among the princes who composed the confederacy, allowed the Senate time to recover from their depression. Padua was regained by a fortunate effort, and twice resisted the utmost efforts of Maximilian to reduce it anew to his obedience. This success was followed by the recapture of Vicenza. The Venetians, awakened from their panic, made incredible exertions to save, and to extricate the Commonwealth. Louis, the most formidable enemy with whom they were engaged, sensible of the political error which he had committed, and disgusted with his allies, not only quitted the league; but soon afterwards joined himself by treaty with the Republic, against those very powers with whom he had so lately acted in concert.

C H A P.
VI.
1509—
1516.

Efforts of
the Venetians.

Under the pressure of a long and disastrous war, the Senate and people equally manifested an unshaken fortitude; repeatedly disdaining to listen to any overtures for peace, except such as were consistent with their national dignity, and which would reinstate them in their lost possessions. Francis the First, who succeeded Louis the Twelfth, adhered to his predecessor's engagements with Venice. Brescia and Bergamo were retaken by their joint arms; and at the treaty of Brussels made between Francis and Maximilian, it was stipu-

CHAP. VI. lated that Verona, the sole remaining conquest
 of the latter prince, should be restored to its
 antient masters. Of all the dominions or de-
 pendencies of the Republic, only Cremona, and
 some inconsiderable towns of Lombardy, were
 torn from her by the confederates, who associ-
 ated for her complete ruin^s. It is not without
 amazement, that we contemplate the resources
 of a comparatively small Italian commonwealth,
 able to resist, and finally to dissipate a combina-
 tion of the most powerful European monarchies
 and states; equal to sustaining an uninterrupted
 series of operations, naval and military, for above
 seven years; and concluding the war, by a re-
 covery of almost all her lost possessions. Her
 industry, trade, and manufactures, which were
 still vigorous, enabled the government to sup-
 port the immense expenditure of public money;
 and the wisdom of the Senate appeared in no
 act more eminently conspicuous, than in the
 modes adopted for raising the necessary sup-
 plies, without oppressing, or exhausting their
 subjects^t. But, the commercial source from
 which these finances had long been drawn, be-
 ing on its decline; the state, enfeebled by its
 efforts, and possessing no means of replenish-
 ing its coffers, gradually sunk in the scale of
 the European system.

After the death of the Emperor Maximilian,
 Italy beheld itself in danger of universal sub-

^s Laugier, vol. viii. and ix. passim. Mod. Univ. His. vol. xxvii.
 p. 245—297. Mezerai, His. de France, vol. vii. passim.

^t Laugier, vol. viii. p. 460.

jection, from his successor, Charles the Fifth. C H A P.
 That prince, possessed of the kingdom of Na- VI.
 ples by descent, and master of the duchy of 1519—
 Milan by force of arms, after the extinction of 1529.
 the family of Sforza, in addition to his other Vigilance
 vast dominions; overawed and intimidated the of the Re-
public.
 surrounding states. The Venetian Senate, nevertheless, true to the balance of power, as well as watchful over their own interests, remained firm in their alliance with France during several years; and actively opposed the further progress of the imperial aggrandizement. It was not till Francis the First, occupied by his pleasures, negligent of the concerns of his crown beyond the Alps, and compelled by the incapacity of his generals to abandon the Milanese, no longer extended protection to his allies; that the republic, unwillingly quitted him, and entered into connexions of policy with Charles the Fifth. When the French monarch, roused at length from his inaction, invaded Italy in 1524, and marched towards Milan in person, the Senate renewed with him the antient treaty of offensive alliance: but, apprehensive of the vengeance which the Emperor might inflict on them, they kept it secret, till the fortunate issue of the siege of Pavia, then besieged by Francis, should enable them to divulge their change of system. The battle of Pavia, and the imprisonment of the French King, who was conveyed to Madrid, left them, in common with the rest of Italy, almost at the mercy of the Spanish court. In this critical situation, they took measures to

CHAP. secure themselves from the danger which im-
 VI. pended, by contracting an alliance with the
 1519— Pope and the Florentines, for their mutual pre-
 1529. servation. On the release of Francis from his
 captivity, Venice instantly signed with him the
 treaty of Cognac; and sustained her part for
 several years, in the hostilities which were re-
 commenced between France and the Emperor.
 1529. Abandoned by her ally, at the peace of Cam-
 bray, the Senate made honourable conditions
 for the Republic at Bologna, and neither sacri-
 ficed her rights, nor departed from her dignity".
 But, profiting by her past experience, impove-
 rished by the expenditure of more than five mil-
 lions of ducats, and annually diminishing in the
 extent of her foreign commerce; Venice could
 never afterwards be drawn into any offensive
 operations, in favour of either Charles, or of
 Francis. The insidious propositions of the
 former, and the magnificent promises of the lat-
 ter prince, proved equally ineffectual to induce,
 or to terrify the Senate. Always armed for the
 protection of their own dominions, and prepared
 to punish any infraction of the treaties subsist-
 ing with foreign powers, they adhered to the
 most rigid neutrality. Henry the Second, King
 of France, inflamed with an hereditary passion
 to reconquer Naples and Milan, found the same
 steady resistance, when he repeatedly attempted
 to involve Venice in the quarrel. The Repub-

Pacific sys-
 tem of Ve-
 nice.

^u Laugier, vol. ix. p. 387—390, and vol. x. p. 42—48. Mod.
 Univ. His. vol. xxvii. p. 367, 368.

lic,

lic, too wise again to appear either as an ally or as an auxiliary, left the two crowns to decide their differences, without entering the lists. ^x

CHAP.
VI.
1529.

A more formidable adversary than the house of Austria, began about this time to attract all the attention, and demanded all the vigilance of the Venetian government. The Turkish power, which for above two hundred years, had been advancing in the east with rapid strides, seemed to menace them with the most serious calamities.

Turkish
affairs.

As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Amurath the Second, then Emperor of the Turks, had deprived the Republic of the city and territory of Salonichi, the Thessalonica of antiquity; though ceded to Venice by the Greek emperor, John Paleologus, to whom it rightfully belonged. Mahomet the Second, son and successor of Amurath, by the capture of Constantinople in 1453, became an object of dread to all the Christian states; but, to none so peculiarly as to the Venetians; who, from the number and importance of their possessions in the Archipelago, the Morea, and along the coasts of Greece, had every reason to dread the attacks of so ambitious and powerful a neighbour. Induced by these considerations, the Senate, as early as 1455, only two years after the extinction of the Greek empire, concluded a solemn treaty of peace and commerce with Mahomet: but, as that Prince adhered to his

Progress of
the Otto-
man Em-
perors.

^x Laugier, vol. x. p. 79—84. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 371.

^y History of the Ottoman Empire, by Demetrius Cantemir, part i. book ii. p. 34.

engage-

C H A P.

VI.

1529.

engagements no longer than they appeared compatible with his interests, hostilities commenced between their respective fleets, near the gulf of Corinth. The Venetians, repulsed before that city, were obliged to retreat in disorder^z. With a view to arrest the progress of Mahomet, in the ensuing year they entered into an alliance with the Sophy of Persia, and the Prince of Caramania: but, neither the assistance of those Asiatic sovereigns, nor the efforts of the Republic, could impede the advances of the Turkish Emperor. After taking Athens by storm, he appeared before the island of Negropont, the Eubœa of the Greeks, at the head of three hundred ships, and seventy thousand troops. The city made a brave and desperate resistance; but, at length surrendered, together with the island itself^a. Undismayed nevertheless by their misfortunes, the Senate sustained the war during several years, almost unsupported by any other European state, against the whole power of the Ottoman empire, conducted by Mahomet. Croia, one of the strongest cities of Albania, which had been the capital of Scanderbeg, together with many inferior places, were successively lost. Dalmatia was ravaged in turn; and Friuli was twice invaded by the Bashaw of Bosnia, who spread terror to the gates of Treviso, and even to the neighbourhood of Venice. The garrison of

^z Laugier, vol. vii. p. 107—III.

^a Ibid. p. 181—188, and p. 203—205, and p. 231—238. Vanel. *His. des Turcs*, 4 vols. vol. ii. p. 117—127.

Scutari alone, though situate in the vicinity of Constantinople, repulsed the Turks, and resisted all their attacks: but, in order to obtain a peace, it became indispensable to cede that important fortress. Mahomet dictated the terms of pacification; retained all his most valuable conquests; exacted a tribute of ten thousand Ducats annually, as the price of his friendship; and became more formidable than ever to the Republic. He adhered nevertheless inviolably to the treaty, till the period of his death.^b

CHAP.
VI.

1529.

Peace concluded with Mahomet the Second.

On the accession of Bajazet the Second in 1481, that Prince renewed and confirmed the peace signed by his father; but, the Senate having not long afterwards, gained possession of the two islands of Zant and Cephalonia, situated near the entrance of the Adriatic, the Turkish Emperor instantly demanded them, as constituting dependencies of his dominions. Terrified at the menaces with which the requisition was accompanied, the Republic did not venture to resist; but a sort of compromise was obtained from the indulgence of the Porte. Cephalonia having been delivered up to the Bashaw of the Morea, Zant remained to the Venetians, upon payment of an annual tribute of five hundred Ducats. This concession having appeased the Sultan, he allowed them to enjoy a precarious repose during several years; when his ambition prompting him to new enterprizes, he recommenced hostilities. Appearing in person before

Negotiations with Bajazet the Second.

^b Vanel. vol. ii. p. 131—138, and p. 147—160.

Lepanto,

CHAP. VI. Lepanto, while his fleet precluded all succours by sea, the garrison capitulated; and various cities in the Morea followed the example. The Venetians, notwithstanding, procured soon afterwards an honourable peace from Bajazet; who, attacked in Europe by the Kings of Hungary and Poland, and in Asia by the Sophy of Persia, readily listened to the proposals of accommodation made him by the Venetian ambassador. Cephalonia was restored to the Republic, and all the commercial immunities enjoyed by the nation in the Ottoman dominions, were confirmed. During the state of depression, to which Venice was reduced by the effects of the league of Cambray, it was even once determined in the Senate, to implore the protection and assistance of Bajazet: but, the Emperor Maximilian having raised the siege of Padua, and their affairs assuming a more favourable aspect, the measure was not carried into execution.^c

Conduct
of Selim,
and of
Solyman,
towards
Venice.

Selim the First having dethroned his father in 1215, and seized on the Turkish empire, found too much occupation in subjecting his dominions, and in extirpating the adherents of his brother Achmet, to permit of his immediately carrying war into the territories of Venice. He readily therefore confirmed the subsisting treaty, and thereby secured his tranquillity in that quarter. But, no sooner was he liberated from his

^c Cantimir, part i. book iii. p. 116—142. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 171—232. *passim*.

domestic embarrassments, than he prepared to fall upon the province of Dalmatia, and assembled forces at Valona, on the coast of Epirus, for the purpose. Death prevented the further prosecution of his design in 1521, and Solyman the Second his son began his long and memorable reign, by the warmest demonstrations of amity towards the Republic. During forty-five years that he occupied the throne, only one rupture took place between them; into which the Venetians were reluctantly drawn by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and the reigning Pope, Paul the Third. For eighteen years subsequent to the accession of Solyman, that enlightened and magnanimous prince treated the Senate with peculiar distinction; continued to the subjects of Venice, the enjoyment of all their commercial privileges; and repeatedly terminated by a prompt accommodation, the accidental causes of misintelligence which arose between the two states. His ambition and thirst of glory were principally directed against Hungary, the two branches of the house of Austria, and the Persians. Barbarossa, the ablest naval commander of his age, and the scourge of the Christian powers, was placed by him at the head of the Ottoman fleets, which carried desolation along the coasts of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily. The island of Rhodes, at an early period of his reign, was subjected, after a long and heroic defence, made by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The capture of some Turkish gallies near the entrance of the Adriatic, which had been mis-
taken

C H A P.
VI.
1529.

1529—
1539.

1539,
1540.
Rupture
with Soly-
man.

C H A P.
VI.

1539.

1540.

1540.

Peace con-
cluded.

taken by the Venetians for pirates, first alienated the mind, and roused the indignation of the Sultan. The artifices and expostulations of Charles the Fifth, who exerted every endeavour to involve the Venetians in a war against Solyman, widened the breach. After vehement debates in the senate, and great irresolution, it was by a very slender majority in that assembly, resolved to join the league of the Pope and the Emperor, against the Turks. This determination, embraced contrary to the opinions of the wisest members of the legislature, became productive only of loss and misfortune to the State. The combined fleets achieved no enterprize of moment. Andrew Doria, who commanded in chief, tho' one of the most celebrated naval characters of that century, neglected, or refused the fairest occasions of combating Barbarossa with advantage. Procrastination, or distrust and jealousy, which characterised every operation of the imperial commander, impeded the general success. Wearied with these obstacles, injured in their trade, diminished in their revenues, incapable of supporting the heavy pecuniary impositions laid on to maintain the war, betrayed by their own ministers, and receiving no essential service from their allies, the Senate condescended to sue for a separate peace. Solyman, after a short delay, and affected reluctance, consented to treat; but, it was as a conqueror, who grants and dictates to a vanquished enemy. Napoli di Romania, and Malvasia, the only two remaining

maining possessions of Venice in the Morea, CHAP. VI.
 were ceded to him as the price; and three hundred thousand Ducats were paid to the Turkish Sultan, to reimburse him for the expences of a war, which had produced to the Republic, only injury and dishonor.^c 1540.

Instructed by experience, the Senate embraced more salutary measures, and determined from that period to cultivate assiduously the friendship of the Porte. Conscious of the great disparity of force between them, annually diminishing in their financial resources, and incapable of recovering the commerce which fortune, combined with enterprize, had thrown into the possession of the Portugueze; Venice no longer stood forward, after the middle of the sixteenth century, as a principal, either in the commotions of Italy, or against the Ottoman power. Peace became the only object of their counsels; and a rigid neutrality, the first measure which they pursued for its attainment. Such were their apprehensions of irritating the Sultan, and their dread of another rupture, that in order to avoid it, they thought scarce any concession too important. This timidity was evinced by their promptitude and anxiety to stifle every occasion of quarrel, and to purchase a continuance of tranquillity, by presents to the Vizier and principal ministers at Constantinople. Solyman, who wanted not enemies to occupy his arms, graciously accepted

1540—

1566.

Long
period of
peace.

^c Vanel, vol. ii. and iii. passim. Cantemir, part i. book iii. p. 174—204. Laugier, vol. ix. passim, and p. 564—579.

their

C H A P. VI. their proffered friendship, and remained till the end of his life and reign, in amity with the Republic. An uninterrupted peace of twenty-six years, seemed to have obliterated all animosities, and to have extinguished any cause for a rupture. But, these appearances soon changed on the accession of Selim the Second; and Venice, long disused to hostilities, found herself unwillingly compelled again to arm for her own protection.*

1566—
1570.
Attack of
Cyprus, by
Selim the
Second.

The new Sultan did not immediately betray his intention to infringe the treaties subsisting between the Turks and Venetians: on the contrary, he began by confirming them; but, his subsequent conduct soon displayed his real determination. The island of Cyprus, for more than half a century, had excited the ambition of the Ottoman princes; who, after having exterminated the Mammelucs, and subjected Egypt, had still permitted this tributary kingdom to remain in the hands of the Republic of Venice. Selim was allured to attempt its reduction, by many motives; the fertility of the soil; its vicinity to Syria and Egypt; and the probable facility with which the conquest might be effected. The Senate, unwilling to engage in war, was likewise incredulous and negligent in arming for its defence: while the Turkish fleet having landed, invested Famagosta, and besieged Nicosia, the two capitals.

* Vanel, vol. ii. p. 450—408. passim. Laugier, vol. x. p. 1—135, passim.

The latter city, vigorously pressed, and ill prepared for resistance, was taken after a siege of fourteen days; but, Famagosta repulsed the assailants.^f

C H A P.
VI.
1569.

Meanwhile, the Venetian government, reluctant to commence hostilities from the consciousness of its weakness, but reduced to that necessity by the arrogance and attacks of Selim; asserting its antient courage, prepared vigorously to repel the invaders. A great league was formed for their protection, with the Holy See, and Philip the Second of Spain. Resources adequate to the magnitude of the emergency, were found in the patriotism of every class of subjects. The greatest exertions were made in fitting out a formidable and well appointed fleet. Succours were sent to the Cypriots; and after many delays, the combined naval forces of Spain, Rome, and Venice, effected their junction. But, the opposite interests of the confederate powers; the insincerity and duplicity of Philip; and the numerous impediments raised against any joint plan of offensive operation, rendered abortive all these preparations. The first campaign produced scarcely any event of moment. Even the illustrious victory of Lepanto, gained over the Turks in the second year, was not improved, and did not regain the island of Cyprus. Famagosta, after sustaining a siege of more than twelve months, and having been reduced to extremities, capitulated.

1570.
League,
formed for
resisting
the Turks.

1571.
Battle of
Lepanto.

^f Laugier, vol. x. p. 135—202.

CH A P. VI. lated. Cyprus became a Turkish province.
 VI. No effectual impression could be made on the
 1571. Ottoman dominions, either in Albania, or in
 Unsuccess- Epirus. Their fleet, which seemed to have
 ful cam- been annihilated by Don John of Austria at
 paigns. Lepanto, was speedily refitted, and appeared on
 the coast of the Morea, under the command of
 Ulucciali, ready to try anew the chance of war.
 Selim relaxed in none of his demands, and me-
 1572. naced Dalmatia with his forces. A third cam-
 paign had only proved the impracticability of
 effecting any enterprize, in concert with the
 combined squadrons: while on the other hand,
 Philip's reluctance to lend his aid towards re-
 covering Cyprus, or permitting his gallies to
 become subservient to the Venetian greatness,
 had become manifest and incontestable. Pius
 the Fifth, who had enthusiastically supported
 the war, in a double capacity, as a sovereign,
 and as a pontiff, was no more; nor did Gregory
 the Thirteenth possess the energy or affection
 to the cause, which had distinguished his pre-
 decessor in the chair of St. Peter. France was
 in close alliance with the Porte; and the other
 European states were either unable or unwill-
 ing to assist the Venetians. Abandoned to
 their own strength, they felt their insufficiency
 to combat the power of the Turkish empire,
 then in its meridian; and their alliances had
 hitherto only aggravated their misfortunes. In
 1573. this situation, they opened a negotiation for
 peace, at Constantinople; and Selim, satisfied
 with his acquisition of Cyprus, readily con-
 sented

sented to a separate treaty, which was purchased on the part of the Republic, by a cession of that island, and the payment of a considerable sum to the Sultan. They were too well justified, by his late conquest, and by their own state of depression, in concluding the war, at any price. Even Philip himself expressed neither indignation nor surprize, at their having withdrawn from a confederacy, which had not profited of the most signal victory ever obtained over the Ottomans, or atchieved any enterprize beneficial to the Venetians.⁵

CHAP.
VI.

1573.

Separate
peace,
made by
Venice.

It is at this æra, with the termination of the Turkish war, that it may be proper to take a view, and to form an estimate, of the situation and resources of Venice. That Republic no longer occupied the conspicuous and enviable place which she had filled in the European system, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Her dominions had suffered great dilapidations, from the successive inroads of the infidels; and some of her most fertile colonies or provinces, had been subjected to the Mahometan power. Albania, Epirus, Greece, the Morea, Cyprus, and many of the islands in the Archipelago, which had been once theirs, either in whole, or in part, were no longer under her controul. Even her remaining possessions, Dalmatia, Candia, and Corfu, were held by a precarious tenure. Various channels of commerce

1574.
State of
Venice at
this period.

Diminu-
tion of ter-
ritory, and
of trade.

⁵ Cantemir, part i. book iii. p. 222—225. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 27—92. Laugier, vol. x. p. 202—282.

C H A P. VI. were dried up, and no new sources of wealth were opened to industry. The inestimable monopoly of the spice trade, which for ages had rendered Venice opulent, was irrecoverably transferred to another nation; and all the commodities of Arabia and India found their way into Europe, by the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. It was impossible for human wisdom to discover a remedy adequate to redressing this injury. Even the navigation of the Adriatic, over which inland sea, Venice had arrogated a sort of exclusive sovereignty, was become very insecure. The Turkish admiral, in 1571, during the course of the war, had advanced so far up the Gulf on the Dalmatian coast, as not only to desolate the islands of Curzola and Lezina, but, to strike terror into Venice itself^h. Besides these enemies, a nation of pirates, denominated Uscoques, whose principal retreat was the town of Segna in Morlachia, on the eastern side of the Gulf; being secretly protected by the princes of the house of Austria, committed perpetual depredations on the vessels of the Republic. Those barbarous outlaws were indeed repeatedly pursued to their harbours or fastnesses, and destroyed; but they as constantly revived, and renewed their enormities.ⁱ

Revenues. With the territories and commerce of Venice, necessarily sunk those immense revenues which

^h Laugier, vol. x. p. 232—234.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 110, 111, and p. 123—125.

rendered her once so powerful ; and which had been exhausted to such a degree by the late onerous and expensive war, that expedients the most pernicious had been from necessity adopted, in order to raise funds for its prosecution. The incredible sum of three hundred thousand Ducats a month, equal nearly to one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, was found scarcely adequate to the various demands, during the hostilities with Selim ; which had cost the Republic twelve millions of Ducats, or above five millions sterling. Fourteen *per cent.* interest was given by the State, for money lent to the public at that time ^k. Yet, every expedient for procuring supplies, would have proved insufficient, if Pius the Fifth, animated by his zeal against the Turks, had not authorized the government to levy three-tenths of the whole revenues of the clergy, throughout the Venetian dominions¹. Gregory the Thirteenth was not however, so liberal of the ecclesiastical property. A portion of the public domain was sold in 1570, to enable the Senate to sustain the war. These expedients forcibly shew the exhausted state of the exchequer^m. Men, as well as money, were wanting to such a degree, that in 1571 all exiles were recalled and pardoned, on condition of serving on board the fleet. Exemption during four years, from every burthen or pecuniary imposition, was at the same time

Depopulation.

^k Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 384 and 433. Gregorio Leti, vol. iv. p. 51 and 52.

¹ Laugier, vol. x. p. 206.

^m Ibid. p. 176.

C H A P. granted to such persons, as voluntarily embarked
 VI. against the enemy.^a

1574. Notwithstanding these diminutions of their
 Dominions former splendor, commerce, and greatness, Ve-
 of Venice. nice, in 1574, remained a powerful state. Be-
 sides the provinces of Lombardy, subject to the
 Republic; Friuli, Istria, and Dalmatia, together
 with the two islands of Corfu and Candia, con-
 tinued to acknowledge her dominion. All these
 territories united formed a very considerable
 power, as compared with those of Italy. Even
 after the entire extinction of the trade with
 India by the Red Sea, which event had taken
 place before this period; the Venetians conti-
 nued still in possession of almost all the com-
 merce carried on with the coast of Barbary, the
 Levant, the Euxine, and the Turkish empire.
 Their vessels, which navigated the German
 Ocean, supplied the English with many articles
 of convenience or luxury. Henry the Eighth
 encouraged and protected them, during the
 course of his whole reign; and all the privi-
 leges which he had accorded, were confirmed
 by the regency, under Edward the Sixth; to
 whom, on his accession, the Senate deputed an
 ambassador, charged to solicit the continuation
 of their antient immunities, and freedom of
 importation°. With all the circles of Germany,
 a great intercourse was carried on, by means
 of land carriage, through the Tyrol, or across
 Carniola and Carinthia. Venice derived im-
 mense profits from this branch of her indus-

Naviga-
 tion, and
 commerce.

^a Laugier, vol. x. p. 221.

^o Ibid. p. 64, 65.

try.

try. No state except Tuscany, in the sixteenth century, had made such exertions towards draining and cultivating their waste lands. Large tracts in the Trevisane and in the Paduan, were by order of the Senate in 1557, completely rescued from the stagnant waters with which they had been previously covered, and rendered productive^p. Every regulation, which could sustain or perpetuate the grandeur of the Commonwealth, was enacted and enforced by the wisdom of the government. Bergamo and Udine, two important frontier cities, the one towards the Milanese borders, and the other on the side of Carniola, were fortified in 1567, and rendered as nearly impregnable, as the art of engineers could effect in that age^q. The arsenal of Venice, which far exceeded in magnitude, as well as in the variety of military weapons and naval stores which it contained, every other in Europe, had been burnt in the year 1569; a calamity which, it was apprehended, had greatly encouraged Selim in coming to an immediate rupture with the Republic. It was not only reconstructed without delay, but rendered more capacious and magnificent.^r

Fortresses.

The Venetian navy was formidable, numerous, and regulated with the utmost care. On emergencies, a great fleet could be equipped with astonishing celerity. An extraordinary proof of their ability in this respect, though on

Navy.

^p Laugier, vol. x. p. 106, 107.^q Ibid. p. 137.^r Ibid. p. 143—145.

CHAP. a smaller scale, was exhibited to Henry the
 VI. Third, King of France, during his stay at Ve-
 1574. nice, in 1574. While a collation was served up
 to him in the hall of the arsenal, a galley was
 begun, constructed, and finished, with every
 requisite for putting to sea, in the short space
 of two hours^s. We may perhaps doubt whe-
 ther even in the nineteenth century, the dock-
 yards of Portsmouth or of Chatham, could fur-
 nish any specimen of greater nautical skill and
 Gallies. science. At the commencement of the Cyprian
 war in 1570, ninety-one gallies, besides other
 vessels of smaller dimensions, were completely
 fitted for sea, in the course of a few days^t.
 During the following year, at the battle of Le-
 panto, the Republic had one hundred and ten
 gallies in their division of the confederate fleet;
 and the success of that memorable victory, was
 allowed to have been eminently due to the su-
 perior construction of the Venetian ships, sus-
 tained by the dexterity of their maritime op-
 erations^u. Such was their naval reputation and
 strength, that had the Senate made early and
 vigorous exertions against the Turks, when
 they first invaded Cyprus, instead of relying on
 Philip the Second, and "the League;" it is
 more than probable that Selim might have been
 reduced to abandon his project upon the island,
 or that he would have permitted the Republic

^s Laugier, vol. x. p. 301.^t Ibid. p. 159.^u Laugier, vol. x. p. 245 and 248. Gregorio Leti, vol. iv. p. 52.

to retain it, on receiving an augmentation of the annual tribute.

C H A P.
VI.

If Venice at this period had declined in solid greatness, she nevertheless retained all the external elegance of a prosperous, refined, and opulent commonwealth. While Ariosto, in the court of Ferrara, acquired immortality for himself, and spread the fame of the Italian language over Europe, by his divine poem of "Orlando Furioso;" Trissino, a native of Vicenza in the Venetian territories, obtained a reputation scarcely inferior, by his epic poem composed on the subject of the deliverance of Italy from the yoke of the Goths by Belisarius, under the reign of Justinian. To Trissino we likewise owe the first regular serious dramatic piece, or tragedy, which modern ages have seen. "Sophonisba," a subject which we must admit to be admirably adapted for tragic effect, selected by the poet for the effort of his muse, was performed at Rome, under the pontificate of Leo the Tenth: and tho' its servile imitation of the antient drama, renders it, as a composition, tame, as well as declamatory, yet it led the way to more perfect productions in the same line of elegant literature. The city was adorned with the productions of art and genius, which vied in its embellishment. Palladio and Scamozzi, who reared the most sumptuous palaces along their canals, carried architecture to its highest point of beauty. The former of those illustrious names, occupies as high a place among us, as Vitruvius did among the Romans.

1574.
Arts, and
magnifi-
cence.

Poetry.

Architec-
ture.

C H A P. Palladio, like Trissino, was born at Vicenza, which city he embellished by monuments of architecture, considered at the present day, as master-pieces of human skill. The celebrated theatre, denominated “degli Olimpici,” constructed by him at Vicenza, on the Greek model, will be visited as long as the edifice itself endures. To Palladio, who died in 1580, succeeded Scamozzi, a native of the same city, who attained an almost equal reputation. In the line of military architecture, and the science of fortification, he even surpassed Palladio. The Venetian senate availed themselves of his talents, and upon his designs was raised the citadel of Palma in Friuli; a fortress which protected the dominions of the Republic on its most exposed, as well as vulnerable frontier, towards the Austrian territories. Scamozzi had only attained his twenty-second year, at the period under our review. Sansovino, who died in extreme old age at Venice in 1570, and many other artists, adorned the ducal palace, as well as the houses of the nobility, with models of perfection in sculpture.

Sculpture.

Painting. The Venetian school of painting produced a Titian, a Paul Veronese, and a Tintoret*. Strangers of eminence from every part of Europe, eagerly crowded to the capital of a Republic, not more renowned for its severe policy and wisdom, than abundant in all the softest gratifications of refinement and luxury. The Venetian Carnival presented an assem-

* Laugier, vol. x. p. 94, 95, and 137.

blage

blage of all the licentious pleasures, which imagination, expence, and female beauty, convened from the most distant parts of Italy, could combine. Sovereign princes did not disdain to mix among the motley throng which then crouded that capital. Henry the Third, then in the flower of his youth, found himself almost unable to quit so voluptuous a city, tho' he was supposed to have had reason to regret the stay which he made at Venice, and the dissolute amours in which he there engaged, during the whole course of his future life. The reception given to that monarch, on his passage from Poland into France, in the year 1574, exceeded in splendor and diversity of magnificent exhibition, any spectacle which had been seen or imagined in the sixteenth century. The descriptions of those festivals, left us by contemporary historians, fill the mind with astonishment, at the taste and grandeur which characterized all the diversions, invented to celebrate the visit of the King of France.

C H A P.
VI.
1574.
Diversions.

In no part of Italy were letters and the arts more cherished, honored, and recompensed, than by the Venetians. Paul Sarpi, better known by the name of "Fra Paolo," one of the most distinguished characters of the sixteenth century, was still in early youth when Henry the Third visited Venice. His celebrated "History of the Council of Trent," did not appear till a considerable later period.

Letters.

^y Laugier, vol. x. p. 290—307.

From

CHAP. VI. From his countrymen he received the highest proofs of public favor and protection. But what testimony has been given since the Augustan age, of national respect and admiration for talents, so conspicuous as that conferred on genius by the government of Venice; who exempted Titien and Sansovino by name, and those two individuals only, thro'out the dominions of the Republic, from the operation of a tax imposed on every other subject of the commonwealth²? When we reflect that this superb city and state, after constituting for so many ages, the wonder of mankind, and the asylum of elegance and pleasure, has since been sunk into a provincial part of the French empire, so denominated; we may find fresh reason to excrete that most calamitous of events, the downfall of the antient monarchy of France, followed by the horrors of the Revolution, and its Acmé of human misery, as well as shame and degradation, the tyranny of Buonaparte.

² Dict. Hist. vol. viii. Article Sansovino.

CHAP. VII.

TUSCANY.

Rise of the Republic of Florence. — Elevation of the family of Medicis. — Character and actions of Cosmo de Medicis. — Administration of Lorenzo. — Expulsion of his son, Pietro. — Appearance, and death of Savonarola. — Revival of the Republic. — Restoration of the House of Medicis. — Their second expulsion. — Siege of Florence. — Reign, and death of Alexander. — Election of Cosmo. — State of Florence at that period. — Reign, and actions of Cosmo. — Siege, and reduction of Sienna. — Title of Great Duke of Tuscany, conferred on Cosmo. — Felicity of his government. — His domestic misfortunes. — His death, and character. — State of Tuscany in 1574. — Manufactures. — Commerce. — Arts. — Forces. — Population. — Felicity and prosperity of Cosmo's reign.

THE interest which is excited by the history of states and kingdoms, does not always bear a proportion to their extent or magnitude. The empire of Russia, which prevails over so large a portion of the earth, awakens little curiosity, till the genius of Peter the First introduced civilization, and brought his subjects forward to notice, as members of a system connected in all its parts, by the common bonds of similarity of manners and civil policy. Florence, on the contrary, small and contracted
in

CHAP.
VII.

Interest,
excited by
the history
of Flo-
rence.

1300—
1400.

CHAP. VII. in its territory, nevertheless forcibly arrests the human mind, and engrosses its most serious attention. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, at a period when England, France, and the northern powers, were immersed in a degree of barbarism, and occupied only with the ferocious amusements of chivalry; that celebrated city and republic having emancipated itself from the chains of feudal tyranny, aspired to the possession of national freedom.

State of the Republic, in the middle ages.

Convulsed by internal dissensions, torn by contending factions, and, like Athens among the states of antiquity, suffering many of the characteristic calamities inseparable from a democratic form of government; Florence still advanced progressively in some of the most beneficial attainments, which distinguish a civilized state of society. The majesty of the Roman jurisprudence was revived in their laws, which protected and secured the enjoyment of individual property. General industry and emulation became excited by the prospect of civil honors and offices, to which all the citizens of the twenty-one tribes were eligible. Arts and letters, which follow in the train of liberty, seemed to have fixed their favorite residence in Tuscany, on the classic banks of the Arno. Danté, the father of Italian poetry, an exile from those scenes; wild, eccentric, gloomy, and original in his compositions; preceded Petrarch and Boccace, whose productions immortalized their country. Cimabue restored and renewed the art of painting; in which attain-

attainment he was even excelled by his disciple Giotto, whose talents embraced the sister sciences of sculpture and architecture. Florence enjoyed a fair proportion of that trade, which Italy then carried on almost exclusively. Confraternities or companies, protected by municipal regulations, were established in the city. National banks facilitated the intercourse of commerce: manufactures of wool and of silk, produced no inconsiderable profits to the adventurers engaged in those fabricks. Opulence resulted from such numerous sources of advantage; and the first gold coin which Europe had seen since the destruction of the Roman empire, was struck by the Florentines.²

CH A P.
VII.
1300—
1400.

From the bosom of commerce, sprung the illustrious family of Medicis, which in celebrity has eclipsed the names of almost all the sovereigns of Europe. John de Medicis, whose influence and ascendancy in the councils of the Commonwealth, arose not more from his vast possessions, than from his virtue and beneficence, was the first banker and merchant of Italy. Cardinal Colonna, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Martin the Fifth, when reduced to apply to him for pecuniary assistance, scrupled not to pledge to him the pontifical crown; and afterwards created him Duke of Monteverdi. At his death, notwithstanding the immense treasures which he bequeathed to his family, yet so

1400—
1428.
Origin of
the family
of Medicis.

² Galluzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. II—17.
Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 752, 753.

C H A P. boundless had been his largesses and donations
 VII. to the necessitous among his fellow-citizens,
 1400— that he was attended to the grave by a prodi-
 1428. gious concourse of his weeping countrymen,
 and honored with the title of “ Father of the
 1428— Poor^b.” Cosmo, his eldest son, who succeeded
 1464. to his virtues, far excelled him in strength of
 Cosmo. genius, power, and reputation. Banished from
 Florence by a triumphant faction, he was re-
 called thither, only to enjoy an augmented de-
 gree of public confidence. Without the name,
 or odious appellation of prince, he became the
 real chief and head of the Republic, as Pericles
 had been of Athens. His influence, always
 exerted to produce the most beneficial and lau-
 dable effects, attained a solidity and strength,
 which no despotism could have conferred.
 Constantly engaged in commerce, he employed
 and enriched a multitude of persons, who in
 return sustained his own greatness. Modest
 and simple in his exterior, he mixed among
 the citizens as an individual, and avoided all
 demonstrations of unnecessary pomp or splen-
 dor. His vessels traded to every port; and his
 factors at Constantinople, Cairo, and along the
 coasts of the Lesser Asia, enjoyed the most
 distinguished consideration. The Mammeluc
 Sultans of Egypt, the Emirs of Babylon, and
 the Turkish Emperors, were all connected
 with him by commercial ties. The Byzantine
 princes, the Paleologi, in whose family expired

His charac-
 ter, com-
 merce, and
 wealth.

^b Galluzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 20—22.

the Greek empire of Constantinople, sold him the jewels and splendid furniture of the imperial palaces, during the state of depression to which they were reduced, previous to their final destruction by Mahomet the Second. But, Cosmo derived a higher claim to the admiration of his contemporaries and of posterity, than commerce or riches could confer, by his princely protection of letters; and this part of his character has eminently conduced to the fame which he deservedly enjoys in history. The memorable æra, distinguished by the name of “the age of the Medicis,” commenced with Cosmo, and forms an epocha in the annals of literature. His house became the asylum of genius and talents, assembled from every part of Italy and Greece. The most precious manuscripts, preserved by his care from the barbarous rage of the Turks, and purchased by his order, were transmitted to future times. Numbers of learned men, driven by the Turkish Sultans to take refuge in Florence, and in other Italian states, received from his bounty a liberal provision, and repaid him by their grateful eulogiums. More fortunate in the close of life than Pericles, Cosmo, after having presided during thirty years, over the Republic, and having embellished the capital by monuments of utility and magnificence, expired in a very advanced age, free from the infirmities with which it is usually accompanied. If we fully appreciate these circumstances, he may be accounted one of the most fortunate individuals

C H A P.
VII.

1428—

1464.

Protection
of letters.Death of
Cosmo.

C H A P. duals whom modern ages have produced. His
 VII. memory was inexpressibly dear to his coun-
 trymen, who inscribed by a public decree,
 1428— on his tomb, the glorious title of “Father of
 1464. his Country.”^c

1464— His wealth and influence, but neither his
 1472. genius, nor his enlarged beneficence, descend-
 Peter of ed to Peter, his only son. Indolent, and inca-
 Medicis. pable of application, he devolved on others the
 business of the State. Oppressed with mala-
 dies, he equally wanted vigour of body and of
 mind, adequate to his high situation. Yet, be-
 neficent, liberal, and of unsullied probity, his
 father’s reputation and virtues not only sus-
 tained, but extricated him from repeated con-
 spiracies, to which he had nearly fallen a vic-
 tim. His life and administration were termi-
 nated by a premature end, the result of an in-
 firm constitution; and the elevation to which
 the family of Medicis had attained, seemed to
 be menaced with extinction, by this event;
 Lorenzo, the eldest of the two sons of Peter,
 having scarcely attained to manhood, and a
 powerful faction having carried war into the
 dominions of the Commonwealth.^d

1472— But, Lorenzo of Medicis was destined to
 1492. perpetuate, and to augment, the glory of his
 Lorenzo of ancestors. Endowed with all the qualities which
 Medicis.

^c Galluzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 22—29.
 Machiavel, book iv. v. vi. and vii. passim. *L’Art de Verif.* vol. iii.
 p. 753, 754. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* v. xxxvi. p. 302—304.

^d Galuzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 29, 30.
 Machiavel, book vii.

had so eminently appeared in Cosmo, he proved himself worthy to succeed to the civil and military supremacy of the Republic. His active exertions, joined to an experience beyond his years, enabled him speedily and honourably to terminate the hostilities, which the enemies of his father had carried on against Florence. The city of Volterra having revolted, and thrown off its allegiance, was reduced by Lorenzo to capitulate; and his clemency toward the culpable and vanquished citizens, augmented the general esteem and affection, which he had previously acquired. His power, exerted for the benefit of the people, began already to strike the deepest root; when a desperate and numerous faction, with which Sixtus the Fourth, who then occupied the Papal See, was not ashamed to connect himself by the closest ties, determined on his extermination, and the destruction of his family. It conveys to us a faithful, though a revolting picture of the spirit of the age and of Italy, to consider that the scene of this projected assassination, in which the supreme head of the Christian church became deeply and personally implicated, was the cathedral of Florence; and the moment fixed for its completion, that point of time in which the elevation of the host, the most solemn act of the Catholic religion, inspired the multitude assembled before the altar, with prostrate awe and veneration. Julian, the younger brother of Lorenzo, perished on the spot, by the daggers of the assassins; but he himself, though

C H A P.
VII.

1472—

1492.

Conspi-
racy
against
Lorenzo.

C H A P.

VII.

1472—

1492.

His wise
and able
govern-
ment.

wounded, had time to escape, and to preserve his life. The Florentines, irritated by so daring and impious a murder, having risen, executed speedy vengeance upon the conspirators. The Archbishop of Pisa, who, notwithstanding the sanctity of his character and office, had, like Sixtus, assumed a principal part in the plot, was hanged in his pontifical habit, at the windows of the palace of the Republic: while the attempt to extinguish the power and family of the Medicis, only contributed to confirm the authority of Lorenzo, and to endear him to his countrymen.*

Incapable of remorse, but stung with indignation and shame at the failure of the enterprise, Sixtus, unmoved by the efforts which Lorenzo made to obliterate the transaction, and to regain his friendship, not only lanced the malediction of the church against the Republic; but he engaged Ferdinand, King of Naples, to aid him in his vengeance, by marching an army against Florence. The city was already on the point of being invested; and the family of Medicis, unequal to opposing so formidable a confederacy, seemed to be menaced with destruction, when it was extricated by a magnanimous and successful resolution of Lorenzo. In this act, we again recognize the manners and genius of a century, widely dissimilar from that in which we live, and resembling in some measure the simplicity of the primitive ages of the

* Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 30—33.

world. Confiding in his own talents, capable of planning and executing the boldest designs, and, even prepared, if it should become necessary, to sacrifice himself for the preservation of the Commonwealth; he quitted Tuscany, carrying with him as hostages, the principal youth of the city. Embarking for Naples, he resolved to plead his own cause with Ferdinand, in order to convince him of the injustice of the hostilities, in which he had been engaged by the resentment of Sixtus. The experiment, tho' partaking of temerity, nevertheless succeeded, and justified Lorenzo. Won by his eloquence, and convinced by his arguments, or impelled by motives of policy, the King of Naples, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Sixtus his ally, withdrew his forces from Tuscany. He even entered into the closest ties of friendship with the house of Medicis; and during a revolt of the Neapolitan Barons, which took place some years afterwards, Ferdinand received from the voluntary gratitude of Lorenzo, so effectual a military and pecuniary support, as enabled him to repress the insurrection, and to preserve the prerogatives of his crown. The Pope himself, menaced by the Turks, and alarmed at the capture of Otranto by Mahomet the Second, which opened a road thro' Apulia, for the Ottomans to overrun all Italy; submitted to demand assistance from the man, whom he had so long injured and persecuted. ^f

^f Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 33, 34.

C H A P.

VII.

1472—

1492.

His mea-
sures for
securing
the gran-
deur of his
family.

Magni-
ficence of
Lorenzo.

Covered with personal glory, attained by his public services and exertions in the service of his country, Lorenzo de Medicis directed his attention towards confirming the greatness of his family, while he laboured to augment the felicity of the Commonwealth, and to preserve the repose of Italy. Animated by those views, he formed an alliance for the defence of his house, with the King of Naples, and with Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, two powerful princes, between whose dominions Tuscany was situated. Apprehensive of the power of the Venetians, he negotiated, in order to set limits to the ambition of that formidable Republic, and to repress her conquests. His cabinet became the center of the political interests and secrets of the surrounding princes; who, during the last four years of his life, referred their disputes to his arbitration and justice. In his management of the Florentines, he exerted the most consummate ability; while he emulated the magnificence of the Cæsars, in the shews and entertainments with which he gratified their leisure. We behold with astonishment a private citizen, invested with no sovereign authority, and only governing by the ascendancy of his virtues; who distributed largesses to his fellow-subjects with unsparing liberality, at the same time that he constructed fortresses for the protection of their territories. The splendor and expence which characterized his public games, recal the idea of the Roman diversions in the Circus; and were unlike any entertainments which
the

C H A P.
VII.1472—
1492.

the last, or the present century, have exhibited to Europe. The superb carousals and entertainments of Louis the Fourteenth at Versailles, were only designed to gratify his mistresses, or to delight his courtiers. Lorenzo's exhibitions were intended for the Tuscan people. His factors in Egypt furnished him with wild beasts, which being transported at his expence to Florence, there renewed the spectacles given by Augustus to the antient conquerors of the world. Representations of the fables and atchievements of the heroes of antiquity, races, and scenic entertainments, were intermingled with tournaments and martial exercises. ^g

Splendor
of his re-
putation.

Such was Lorenzo's reputation beyond the Alps, that Bajazet the Second, Emperor of the Turks, and Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, sent embassies of friendship to him; while the Egyptian Sultans laid at his feet, all the most costly productions of Arabia and India. Towards the termination of his life, having withdrawn his immense property from commerce, he realized it by the purchase of lands. Snatched away at an early period, and in the vigor of his age, he left his country, as well as all Italy, equally to lament his loss, which became the æra of calamity to both, and produced the ruin of his family. He was justly surnamed the "Magnificent," and "the Father of Letters." No prince in any age, not excepting Francis

His death.

^g Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 35. Varillas, *Histoire Secrete de la Maison de Medicis*, p. 144—147.

C H A P. VII. the First, King of France, exceeded him in his protection of the arts, and his munificence to men of genius. The palace of Lorenzo constituted a Lyceum; and to enumerate those who formed the constant objects of his favour and liberality, would be to commemorate every person whom the fifteenth century produced, of merit or literary eminence. Leonardo Aretino and Poggio, two of the finest writers of that age, presided over his education. Politian, Picus of Mirandola, Lascaris, Chancondilas, and many others, illustrious in the annals of literature, were his ordinary guests, and the companions of his leisure. He embellished Florence, founded the university of Pisa, and was himself a distinguished writer, in various species of composition.ⁿ

1472—
1492.

With him expired the political importance of the house of Medicis; which, unlike the power of other princes, was not supported by military force, but derived its principal strength from the benign effect of active virtue and capacity. Peter, the eldest son of Lorenzo, inherited neither his father's genius, his judgment, nor the qualities of his heart. Endowed by nature with many brilliant qualifications, but, intoxicated with power, incapable of adapting himself to the manners of the people whom he was designed to govern, and destitute of application; his person and administration became odious to the Florentines. Meanwhile, a great revolution was on the point of taking place in Italy, which

Peter the
Second.

ⁿ Varillas, p. 158—164. Galuzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 33. *L'Art de Verif.* vol. iii. p. 755.

demanded

demanded in the chief of a free and tumultuous Commonwealth, pre-eminent talents to direct, or to withstand its progress. Charles the Eighth, King of France, invited by Louis Sforza, who had become Duke of Milan, prepared to assert his claim to the kingdom of Naples, and crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. Peter of Medicis, attached by policy and treaties to the Arragonese princes then reigning at Naples, attempted to resist the French invaders : but, on their approach, passing rapidly from one extreme to another, he embraced the fatal measure of going to meet the French monarch, and attempting to conciliate his favor. The same experiment, which, in the able hands of Lorenzo, had retrieved his own affairs and those of his country ; produced, under the unskilful management of Peter, only complete destruction. He was compelled to surrender to Charles, the principal fortresses of the Republic, as hostages for his fidelity. So degrading a sacrifice of the national honor and security, instantly alienated from him every heart ; and yielding to the impulse of his fears, he precipitately fled from Florence : quitting without an effort, precisely as James the Second did among us, about two centuries later, the most enviable sovereignty ever attained or enjoyed by any prince. His evil destiny or incapacity, like that of James, in defiance of the most favorable occasions, prevented his re-establishment. After various unsuccessful attempts to recover his patrimony and dignity, Peter perished at the mouth of the river Garig.

C H A P.
VII.

1492—

1494.

Invasion of
Italy, by
Charles the
Eighth.Expulsion
of the Me-
dicis.Death of
Peter.

C H A P. VII. Garigliano, the Liris of antiquity, in the kingdom of Naples; a memorable example of the precarious nature of human grandeur and felicity.¹

1492—

1494.

1494—

1498.

Appearance, character, and execution of Savonarola.

Florence, by this rapid and unexpected revolution, having become free, the first use which the citizens made of their newly-recovered liberty, was to plunder the effects of the family from whose government they were emancipated: resembling in this feature of their national character, as in many others, the Athenians, who treated Alcibiades and Demetrius Poliorcetes precisely in a similar manner. All the precious manuscripts and collections of art, which Cosmo and Lorenzo, during sixty years, had amassed with care and expence, were defaced and scattered. The statues of the Medicis were thrown down; and the leaders of the faction which assumed the conduct of the Republic, employed the eloquence and zeal of the celebrated Savonarola, to sustain the people in their antipathy to the late government. This Dominican monk, who occupies a distinguished place in the Florentine annals; by the energy of his popular declamation, by the austerity of his manners, and by the claims to prophetic powers which he boldly asserted, became, during a few years, the principal engine by which the multitude was retained in subjection. But, a scarcity of provisions, for which no alleviation was to be

¹ Varillas, p. 202—209. Galuzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 36—41. Guicciardini, book i.

found,

found, as formerly, in the wise precautions, or in the liberality of the Medicis; when added to the indiscreet vengeance exercised against the adherents of that exiled house, gradually indisposed and alienated the people. Alexander the Sixth, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and against whose enormities Savonarola had fearlessly declaimed, having aided his enemies; the unfortunate monk, delivered over to justice, and abandoned by the people who so lately idolized him, perished in the flames, as John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had done, at an early period of the same century, by order of the council of Constance. ^k

The individuals of the family of Medicis continued notwithstanding, to wander in a state of exile and indigence, through the courts of Italy; precisely as we have seen in the present age, the princes of the royal house of Bourbon solicit aid from every court and sovereign of Europe: while Florence, though in possession of freedom, yet, agitated by domestic factions, neither enjoyed tranquillity at home, nor possessed any influence beyond the limits of her own territory. Europe had, besides, recently undergone a vast alteration; and that change had been peculiarly inimical to the Italian States. The genius of Columbus discovered America, nearly at the same time that the perseverance of Gama effected a new passage to India. In consequence of these dis-

CHAP.
VII.
1494—
1498.

1498—
1512.
State of
Italy, and
of Flo-
rence.

^k Varillas, p. 212—217. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 755, 756.

coveries,

C H A P. coveries, the antient system of commerce was
 VII. overturned: Portugal and Spain became pos-
 1498—sessed of the trade previously enjoyed by Flo-
 1512. rence, Venice, and the surrounding Republics ;
 which States gradually lost, with the source of
 their wealth, their power and consequence. It
 formed a material addition to the misfortune,
 that since the invasion of Charles the Eighth,
 Italy had been perpetually laid waste by foreign
 nations. Naples, in possession alternately of
 Louis the Twelfth, and of Ferdinand the Ca-
 tholic, had finally been subjected by the latter
 power ; and that beautiful country, no longer
 governed by its own proper sovereigns, sunk
 into a Spanish province. Milan was nearly in
 a similar situation. Pisa, which had thrown off
 the yoke of Florence, maintained its political
 independence for many years, notwithstanding
 the utmost efforts of the Florentines to reduce
 the city to their obedience. John, Cardinal of
 Medicis, second son of Lorenzo, who afterwards
 occupies so conspicuous a place in history, on his
 elevation to the pontificate, by the title of Leo
 the Tenth ; had already conciliated the affection
 of his countrymen, by the love of letters, and the
 liberality of disposition, so characteristic of his
 family. Julius the Second, who had succeeded
 to Alexander the Sixth in the Holy See, was
 irritated against the Republic, for having allied
 itself with his enemies ; and Soderini, the chief
 of the faction opposed to the Medicis, wanted
 the capacity requisite to sustain him in the
 arduous

arduous elevation, to which he had been raised, CHAP. VII.
of perpetual Dictator. ¹

Under these circumstances, it was not difficult 1512—
for the Cardinal of Medicis, aided by an army 1527.
composed of the Spanish and papal troops, to Restoration of the
re-enter Florence, and to re-establish his house Medicis.
in their antient lustre, after having been ejected
eighteen years. Lorenzo, the son of Peter who
perished in the Garigliano, acting under the di-
rection of Julian his uncle, assumed the su-
preme administration; and the election of Leo
the Tenth to the papal see, which took place in
the succeeding year, 1513, confirmed the au-
thority of his nephew and brother. But, by a
singular fatality, both those princes were soon
carried off by early and premature death, with-
out leaving any legitimate male issue. Cathe-
rine of Medicis, so famous in the annals of
France, was daughter to Lorenzo, and inherited
the talents of her line. The government of
Florence, in consequence of these events, de-
volved on another descendant of the same fami-
ly, Julius, Cardinal of Medicis; who in his turn
was subsequently raised to the chair of St. Peter,
by the name of Clement the Seventh. Under
his protection and superintendence, tranquil-
lity was preserved during several years. Alex-
ander, a natural son of Lorenzo the Second,
whom he had by a slave; or, as was asserted
by others, an illegitimate son of Clement him-
self; was destined by that Pope, when he should
arrive at manhood, to support the grandeur of

¹ Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 48—54. Varillas, p. 217—246.

CHAP. the house of Medicis, and to fill the office of
 VII. head of the Commonwealth. In making this
 1412— selection, the pontiff passed over and excluded
 1527. Hyppolito, an illegitimate son of Julian, brother
 to Leo the Tenth; who, both from the circum-
 stances of his descent on the mother's side, as
 well as from the qualities of his mind and cha-
 racter, appears to have been far more worthy
 of the elevation.^m

1527— The faction which had expelled Peter of
 1529. Medicis in 1494, though quelled, was not how-
 Revolt of ever extinct; and during the calamities of
 the Floren- Clement's pontificate, when the imperial troops
 tines. having sacked Rome, under the command of
 the Constable of Bourbon, became masters of
 the person of the Pope himself, Florence again
 revolted. Cardinal Passerini, who administered
 the affairs of the government in Clement's
 name, being driven out, a democratic form of
 constitution was revived. Every outrage which
 a furious and irritated populace could heap
 upon the sovereign pontiff and his house, was
 committed by the citizens. Clement was de-
 clared guilty of treason against the Common-
 wealth, and his memory loaded with oppro-
 brium. In the perusal of the Florentine his-
 tory, we are perpetually reminded of Athens,
 while conflicting with Philip of Macedon. But,
 the triumph of freedom at Florence was tran-
 sient. By the treaty of Barcelona, concluded
 between Charles the Fifth and the Pope, the

^m Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 54—61. Varillas, book vi. Guicciardini. Paul Jovius.

C H A P.

VII.

1527—

1529.

Siege, and
reduction
of Florence.

1530.

Alexander
of Medicis.

1531—

1537.

restoration of the Medicis was stipulated as a principal condition ; the Emperor consenting to give his natural daughter, Margaret, for whom he felt all the affection of a father, in marriage to Alexander, as chief and representative of the family. Driven to despair by this agreement, which rivetted their fetters, the Florentines, though abandoned by Francis the First and the Venetians, yet nobly determined on resistance. The forces of Charles, commanded by Philibert, Prince of Orange, having invested the city, became masters of it, after a siege which lasted eleven months. Alexander, on his arrival, was invested with the dignity of first magistrate, and declared *Duke* of Florence: a title, which like that of perpetual Dictator, conferred on the first of the Cæsars ; or like that of *Emperor of the French*, assumed by Bonaparte ; announced the final extinction of the Commonwealth. Measures of severity were adopted to confirm Alexander's power. The citizens, by an arbitrary edict, were deprived of all arms or weapons whatever ; and it was already agitated to construct a citadel for their complete subjugation.ⁿ

Notwithstanding these jealous precautions, the death of Clement in 1534, shook to its foundations the authority of the newly elevated prince, which was already enfeebled by his vices and incapacity. Cruel, vindictive, rapacious, insolent, and abandoned to dissolute

ⁿ Galuzzi, vol. i. Introd. p.61—68. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 757.

plea-

C H A P.
VII.

1531—

1537.
His vices
and mal-
adminis-
tration.

pleasures, Alexander soon became universally odious to his countrymen. The proscription and punishments, inflicted on his enemies or opponents, only heightened the public detestation. Hyppolito, to whom he had been unjustly or capriciously preferred by the late pope, having retired to Rome, began to collect adherents, and to entertain hopes of supplanting his relation. Charles the Fifth not having yet accomplished the nuptials of his daughter with the young Duke of Florence, might, it was conceived, transfer to Hyppolito, as more deserving, the hand of Margaret, and the sovereignty of Tuscany. The two competitors already prepared to plead their respective causes in person, before the Emperor, who was recently returned to Naples with glory, from his successful expedition against Tunis. But, poison, supposed to have been administered by Alexander to his cousin and rival, terminated the contest between them, and carried off Hyppolito, at the little town of Istri, in the vicinity of Gaieta. This act, however criminal and atrocious it might be, yet left no alternative to Charles, if he rejected Alexander, except that of restoring Florence again to liberty: an expedient from which he was deterred by his consciousness of the tumultuary nature of a popular government, and by the known partiality of the inhabitants to France, their antient ally. Yielding, therefore, rather to necessity, than to inclination, he celebrated the marriage of Margaret with Alexander, and

con-

C H A P.
VII.

1531--

1537.

Assassina-
tion of
Alexander.

1537-

confirmed him in his ducal dignity; though upon conditions which left him little more than a nominal sovereignty, and which virtually annexed Tuscany, as he afterwards openly did Milan, to the other dominions of the Spanish monarchy. The Duke, triumphant over all his opponents, and elated with so powerful an alliance, returned to Florence, where his oppressions and irregularities became redoubled in violence. But, their duration was very short: in avowed imitation of the younger Brutus, who liberated Rome from servitude, Lorenzo of Medicis, the minister of his pleasures, nearly allied to Alexander by consanguinity, assassinated him, and rescued his country from so ignominious, as well as degrading a tyranny.*

By the unexpected death of Alexander, the Florentine state relapsed into a situation, similar to that in which it stood at the conclusion of the memorable siege in 1530; and might be regarded as at the disposal of the Emperor, who had already conferred it on its late possessor. But, the rescript, solemnly published by Charles, at the time when he invested Alexander with his dignity, decreed, that on failure of male issue, the nearest relation should succeed. The young duchess Margaret exhibited no symptoms of pregnancy; and the only issue of the Duke, was an illegitimate son, scarcely three years of age. In this dilemma, the Cardinal Cibo, who wished to prefer the claim of the

* Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 68—74. Guicciardini, passim.

C H A P. VII.
 1537.
 Elevation of Cosmo.

infant to the succession, was over-ruled by some of the principal senators; and Cosmo of Medici being secretly introduced into the city, was declared "Chief of the Republic and its dependencies." His right of consanguinity was very remote, as he only derived his descent from John, father to the celebrated Cosmo, by a younger son; but, though only eighteen years old, he had already, in addition to the exterior graces of person, given indications of vigor and capacity. His father, who at an early period of life, had acquired great military renown, while acting in command of the papal armies; had left behind him a reputation dear to his countrymen, and to all Italy. No sooner was the election of Cosmo notified to the Florentine people, than the intelligence excited universal joy, and was received with general acclamations. Precautions for securing the public tranquillity, were instantly taken; and messengers were dispatched to Charles the Fifth, who was then in Spain, to request his approbation of Cosmo, as successor to Alexander. A sort of indirect and ambiguous consent was obtained in a few weeks, which seemed however to flow more from the difficulty of seizing on Tuscany by open force, than from any affection on the part of the Emperor, towards the new Prince.^p

State of
 Florence at
 this period.

The condition of Florence, both as a city, and as a republic, at this æra, appears to have been truly deplorable. In the lapse of only forty-five

^p Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 3—18.

years which had elapsed since the death of Lorenzo the magnificent, its commerce, opulence, and grandeur had been completely subverted. To such distress were the inhabitants reduced, when the capital surrendered to the Imperial general in 1530, that in order to raise the sum of forty thousand Ducats, which were to be distributed among the victorious soldiery, it had become necessary to have recourse to the ornaments and plate of the churches^a. During the short time which Alexander held the supreme power, he only aggravated the burdens, and augmented the poverty of the people. The rich tract of flat country in which Pisa is situated, near the shore of the Mediterranean, capable of producing the most plenteous supplies of corn and grain, lay desolate, depopulated, and covered with marshes^r. Pistoia, another principal city of Tuscany, was torn by factions, which impeded agriculture, and threatened to produce famine^s. Even in the vicinity of Florence itself, so deserted was the country, that the wolves in great numbers, committed devastations on the flocks, attacked the peasants, and rendered it requisite that the government should offer rewards for their extermination^t. So depressed were the manufactures, that those of glass, wax, and many others, had totally disappeared during the siege, and had not revived since that period. A striking proof of the decline of the elegant arts was

Manufac-
tures.

^a Galluzzi. vol. i. Introd. p. 76, and p. 291.

^r Ibid. p. 515.

^s Ibid. p. 18, 19, and p. 315.

^t Ibid. p. 316.

C H A P. exhibited, by the necessity of causing all the
 VII. plate and decorations for the marriage of Cosmo, even two years after his accession, in 1539, to be made at Naples. No workmen, capable of executing those articles of luxury, were then to be found in Florence.^u

Revenues.

The revenues of the State bore a proportion to its other wants. All the severe imposts, or oppressive modes of extorting money, invented and practised by Alexander, scarcely raised them annually to four hundred thousand Ducats^x. Cosmo could not reasonably expect, unless by enriching his people, to maintain them at that sum, and still less, to augment them beyond it. His situation, as head or chief of Florence, was precarious, dependent, and might be considered altogether at the arbitrary pleasure of Charles the Fifth. Not only the fortresses of Pisa and Leghorn, but the citadel of Florence itself, were occupied and garrisoned by Spanish forces, who owned no allegiance except to the Emperor^y. The republican party was numerous in the capital, and already collecting on the frontiers, in order to overturn the new government. Paul the Third, the reigning Pope, in conjunction with Francis the First, King of France, were disposed to aid them, and to dispossess Cosmo of his dominions.

^u Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 303, 304.

^x Ibid. p. 296, 297. About one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling.

^y Ibid. p. 17, 18.

Under circumstances so adverse and unpropitious, that young Prince found resources in his courage, in the energy of his talents, his promptitude, and indefatigable exertions. Having provided for the safety of his capital, by some wise and severe regulations, he put himself immediately at the head of a body of troops; marched to meet the exiles, who had already, under the command of Philip Strozzi, entered on the territories of Florence; and obtained a decisive advantage over them at Monte Murlo. Strozzi himself, together with his principal adherents, were taken, and conducted to the citadel. Justly elated with this fortunate commencement, which Cosmo considered as the æra of his real accession, he immediately manifested his determination to shake off the ignominious fetters with which he had hitherto been confined. The state of dependence, in which the Senate, as well as the Imperial ministers resident near his person, had held him, appeared unworthy of a sovereign endowed with qualities fitted to command. While, on one hand, he therefore restrained and diminished the power of the council associated with him in the government; he dispatched a courier to acquaint Charles with his victory, and to demand the Princess Margaret, widow of his predecessor, in marriage. The Spanish court, rendered complying by Cosmo's success, confirmed his title without delay, in the most ample terms; and he then assumed the denomination of *Duke* of Florence, from

C H A P.

VII.

1537—

1540.

Vigorous
government of
Cosmo.He endeavours to
emancipate Tus-
cany.

C H A P.

VII.

1537—

1540.

His nup-
tials.

which he had previously abstained. To the proposition for his natural daughter, Charles dissented; but, he accompanied the refusal, with expressions of high personal consideration for Cosmo, and assurances that his Imperial Majesty would recommend, and provide him a wife. Margaret was sacrificed to her father's policy and ambition, who compelled her reluctantly, to espouse Octavio Farnese, grandson to Paul the Third. Eleanor, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, was the lady selected by Charles for Cosmo, as that union would, he conceived, bind the Duke still more closely to the interests of Spain; and the nuptials were solemnized soon afterwards with great magnificence, amidst the acclamations of the Tuscan people.^z

1540—

1543.

Wise, and
polite ad-
ministra-
tion of
Cosmo.

The line of political conduct pursued by Cosmo, evinced the strength of his capacity; and betrayed, at an age when the passions usually take the lead, a judgment and aptitude for public affairs, which partook more of the ripper period of life. Neither seduced by pleasure, nor by indolence, like his predecessor Alexander; his attention to consolidate his recent greatness was unremitted, while his vigilance was ever on the watch, to anticipate danger or attack. The machine of government was conducted with a firm and steady hand. Every proper precaution was adopted to prevent internal commotion. The delicate and

^z Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 18—59. L'Art. de Verif. vol. iii. p. 757, 758.

unpo-

unpopular measure of an augmentation of the taxes, indispensable for the defence of his dominions, was sustained on his part with becoming resolution, and submitted to on that of his subjects, almost without a murmur. His activity in personally inspecting all the departments of state, enabled him to form a correct estimate of its situation, and to adduce a remedy to its disorders. He visited successively, every part of Tuscany; ordered the construction of forts, at Arezzo and at Pistoia; repaired the fortifications of Pisa, while he gave directions for draining the adjacent country, lying along the banks of the Arno; regulated the modes of paying the public contributions, and instructed himself in the grievances of his subjects. With equal wisdom and beneficence, he caused grain to be imported from Sicily, and then distributed or sold to the people, during a season of scarcity; an act of munificence which acquired him deserved popularity. Towards Paul the Third, who had laid Florence under an interdict, and omitted no means of exciting disaffection or revolt, Cosmo uniformly acted with firm, but temperate dignity. In his researches after those individuals who had been concerned in conspiracies or insurrections, set on foot with a view to restore the antient Commonwealth, greater severity was indeed exercised, and capital punishment, or exile were inflicted. Conscious of the effect of objects, even the most inanimate, which are constantly acting on the senses, he transferred his residence

C H A P.

VII.

1540—

1543.

C H A P. VII. dence from the old palace of the house of Medicis, to that edifice denominated “ the Palace of the Republic ;” in order that the perpetual view of a structure once sacred to freedom, might not painfully remind the Florentines of the extinction of their liberties. In these measures we recognize the talents of a statesman, and the qualifications of a prince, who was not undeserving of the elevation, to which he had been conducted in the first instance by fortune, rather than by personal merit. Augustus himself, when he assumed the supreme authority in antient Rome, after the extinction of the civil wars, did not proceed with more temperate steps, to cement and consolidate his usurpation. ^a

He procures the recall of the Spanish troops.

But, the most important object remained yet to be effected ; and Cosmo could only regard his condition, however eminent, as a splendid vassalage, while the garrisons of Pisa and of Leghorn were composed of Spaniards, and while even the citadel of Florence continued in possession of the Emperor. Availing himself with address, of the necessities of that monarch, he prevailed on Charles to restore to him the fortresses, on payment of a considerable sum of money ; and on the condition of his further engaging to protect against all invaders, peculiarly against the French and Turks, the cities of Piombino and Sienna, together with the coasts of Tuscany. It is only from the moment of this evacuation, that his reign may indeed be justly dated ; and that,

^a Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 59—88.

having

having completed his emancipation from a foreign yoke, he could adopt without controul such principles, as while they consolidated his own authority, might establish the felicity of his people.^b

Animated equally with gratitude towards the Emperor, as his benefactor, and induced by a consideration of his own true interests; Cosmo, during the war which speedily commenced between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, displayed his steady adherence to the former prince. Barbarossa, commander of the Ottoman fleet, having in conjunction with that of France, appeared in two successive years, off the coast of Tuscany; the Duke not only took the most vigorous and efficacious measures for defending his own dominions, but he extended succours to the neighbouring states. Piombino, together with the whole island of Elba, containing ports of the highest importance, situated in the center of the Florentine territories; were then held by James, Count of Appiano, as fiefs of the German empire, and professed neither allegiance nor subjection to Cosmo. Unable to withstand the combined forces of Francis and Solyman, Appiano, on the approach of Barbarossa, reluctantly called on the Duke for protection. Piombino was saved by the prompt introduction of a body of Tuscan soldiery, and the Turkish admiral was compelled to relinquish his prey. The little Republic of Sienna, which had long

C H A P.

VII.

1540—

1543.

1543.

1544.

Measures
for secur-
ing the re-
pose of
Tuscany.

^b Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 90—96.

been

CHAP. been in a state of internal decline, alternately
 VII. governed by the French, or by the Imperial
 1543. faction ; possessed a tract of coast not less im-
 1544. portant, comprehending in its range, the mari-
 time places of Orbitello and of Porto Ercolé.
 The latter of these towns being captured, was
 reduced to ashes by Barbarossa ; and the former
 only escaped a similar fate, in consequence of
 the exertions of the Duke, who sent immediate
 assistance to the garrison. ^c

1545— Conscious of the value of Piombino and its
 1548. dependencies, by which Tuscany might with
 He at- facility be invaded on the most vulnerable quar-
 tempts to ter ; and the inability of so feeble a feudatory
 gain Piom- as Appiano, to maintain these exposed posses-
 bino. sions against foreign attack, being manifest ;
 Cosmo exerted every endeavour to induce the
 Emperor, as sovereign of the fief, to compel
 the possessor to alienate it in his favor, on re-
 ceiving for it an adequate indemnification. But
 Charles, distrustful, and rendered more suspi-
 cious by the Duke's anxiety to become master
 of Piombino, remained long undecided. Even
 after his apprehensions that the place might be
 seized on and retained by France, had induced
 him to admit Cosmo to take possession of it as
 a deposit ; he resumed the donation in a few
 weeks, and caused it to be garrisoned anew
 with Spanish forces. Humiliating as was this
 treatment, and subversive as he felt it to be of
 all his views, the Duke patiently submitted,

^c Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 97—118.

and waited till a more favorable juncture should enable him to resume his exertions with better success^d. Meanwhile, his vigilance and attention to public affairs, were unintermitted. During the temporary tranquillity which took place between the crowns of France and Spain, after the decease of Francis the First, he was not inattentive to any transaction, by which his own power, or the happiness of his subjects, could be even remotely affected. All his internal regulations were dictated by policy, and carried into effect with vigor. He constructed an arsenal at Pisa; relieved his people from the severe misfortunes, caused by an inundation of the river Arno, which had desolated Florence, as well as the surrounding country; and superintended with minute solicitude the progress of arts, manufactures, and commerce. His coffers were constantly full; while his credit was such, as to enable him on emergency, to command still more ample funds, both at home, and in foreign states. Nor were his inspection and care confined to Tuscany. Cardinal del Monté, under the name of Julius the Third, was elevated to the papal see, principally by his recommendation and assistance: while at the same time he opened a negotiation with Henry the Second, now become King of France; and even eventually signed a treaty of neutrality with that power, in case of a future rupture taking place between the French and Charles the Fifth.^e

CHAP.
VII.

1549—
1551.

Able policy, and great exertions of Cosmo.

^d Galluzzi, vol. i. chap. v. and p. 172—184.

^e Ibid. chap. vii.

The

C H A P.

VII.

1551,

1552.

He ac-
quires pos-
session of
Piombino.

The penetration of Cosmo had anticipated and foreseen, that hostilities would recommence in every part of Italy, as soon as the French monarch conceived himself able to resume his father's quarrel against the Emperor; and the event completely justified his expectation. Alarmed at the approach of a rupture; unwilling to devolve on Appiano the defence of Piombino, and unable to leave a sufficient garrison in the place, at a moment when his forces must of necessity be fully occupied in Piedmont, Milan, and Naples; Charles a second time confided Piombino and Elba to the care of the Duke; though only on condition of his restoring to Spain those possessions, whenever he should be reimbursed for the expences incurred in their protection. Hard as the conditions appeared, they were accepted by Cosmo; and his troops took possession of the fortresses evacuated by the Spaniards.^f

1553.
Affairs of
Sienna.

A far more important object excited his ambition, and animated his hopes. The Republic of Sienna, from its local situation, was capable, if it should pass into an enemy's hands, of being made not only injurious, but ruinous to Florence, by the easy access which it afforded into the center of Tuscany. Henry the Second, well aware of its value, and intent on invading the kingdom of Naples, fomented by every means the disaffection of the Siennese towards the Emperor. Instigated by the emissaries, and

^f Galuzzi, vol. ii. chap. i.

emboldened by the promises of France, the inhabitants of Sienna had expelled the Spanish garrison, though reinforced by a body of Cosmo's troops; and proceeding to every extremity of resentment, they had devoted themselves wholly to the interests of the French monarch. Charles, justly incensed at the outrage, and determined to make them experience the full extent of his vengeance, gave orders to the Viceroy of Naples to form the siege of the city, in conjunction with the Duke of Florence. In consequence of his directions, Sienna was invested and attacked by the Spanish and Tuscan forces; and notwithstanding the resistance of the inhabitants, the place must have speedily surrendered. But, at that precise juncture, the Emperor, broken in mind and body by infirmities; repulsed before Metz with dishonour by Francis, Duke of Guise; and apprehensive of the Turkish fleet, in combination with the French gallies, re-appearing on the Neapolitan coasts; hastily relinquished his attempt, and withdrew his troops from before Sienna, in defiance of Cosmo's remonstrances.^s

Attack of
Sienna.

No measure could operate more injuriously in its consequences to that prince, as it left him exposed to the vengeance of France, now become absolute mistress of the City and Republic, which her arms and interposition had so recently saved from exemplary chastisement, if not from complete destruction. Animated

1553.

1554.

^s Galuzzi, vol.ii. p.48—70.

how.

C H A P.

VII.

1553,

1554.

Second
siege of
Sienna.

Defence of
the city by
Strozzi.

however, rather than depressed by this consideration, and apprehensive that delay would enable the French court to take precautions for securing the future possession of Sienna; the Duke embraced the resolution of attempting, himself, its conquest and reduction. He proposed to Charles the Fifth, the instant execution of a plan so replete with advantage to them both, if it should prove successful; and having received from that prince assurances of effectual support, pecuniary and military, he caused an army to advance, and to commence the siege. Peter Strozzi, son to the celebrated and unfortunate Tuscan exile, defeated at Monte Murlo, in the first months of Cosmo's reign; a man who possessed all the qualifications of a statesman and a general, was sent by Henry the Second, to command in the city; having under his orders a body of veteran troops, with which force he embarked from Marseilles. Every effort which the most desperate courage, sustained by personal animosity against the Duke, whom he considered as the tyrant and usurper of his country, could dictate or inspire, was exerted by Strozzi, to repulse the assailants; or at least to protract the surrender of Sienna. Ill supported by the ministers of France, opposed by the magistrates and inhabitants of the city itself, and labouring under the augmenting pressure of famine; he still betrayed no apprehension. Oppressed by unequal forces, he twice transferred the scene of war from the walls of Sienna, to the dominions of Florence, by breaking

ing through the lines of the besiegers; and he even ventured to approach the capital of Cosmo. Compelled under manifest disadvantages, to hazard a general action; wounded, and abandoned by his own soldiers, he nevertheless found means again to enter Sienna, and to encourage the garrison by his example, to the most obstinate resistance. When despairing of success, and incapable of withstanding his enemies, he effected his escape; and surviving the loss of the city, reanimated the spirit of the Siennese in the dependencies of the Republic, to make new efforts for the preservation of their freedom and constitution. Antiquity, Greek or Roman, presents nothing more admirable than this display of courage, resource, and perseverance.^a

CHAP.
VII.
1533,
1554.

The magnanimous struggles of Strozzi, could not however prolong the destiny of Sienna. Famine opened its gates; and the conqueror granted the garrison, as well as the remaining inhabitants, an honourable capitulation. The unconquerable attachment of many of the citizens to that liberty, which they had enjoyed for near four hundred years, induced them, in the vain hope of escaping from their new master, to retire to Monté Alcino, where they continued to maintain the forms of a free state, under the protection of Franceⁱ. Meanwhile the Emperor Charles the Fifth, broken by dis-

1555.
Surrender
of Sienna.

1556.

^a Galluzzi, vol. ii. chap. iii.

ⁱ Ibid. chap. iv. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 758.

eases,

C H A P.

VII.

1557.

Cession of
the city
and terri-
tory of
Sienna, to
Cosmo.

Considera-
tions on
that event.

eases, and enfeebled by a premature decline of his intellectual vigour, had gradually and at intervals, divested himself of all his dominions, which he devolved on Philip the Second, his son. With that Monarch Cosmo opened a negotiation for the purpose of adjusting the future condition of Sienna; which, as an Imperial fief forfeited to Charles, had been by him bequeathed, with his other extensive territories and possessions, to his successor. After long contest, the new King of Spain agreed to cede to the Duke, in extinction of all the sums borrowed from him at various times, the city and dependencies of Sienna; reserving nevertheless from this cession, the maritime places of Orbitello, and of Porto Ercole, situate on the coast of Tuscany; and exacting from Cosmo, the evacuation and restitution of Piombino, together with the isle of Elba. By a subsequent stipulation, he connected himself, offensively and defensively, with Philip; and even engaged not to contract his sons in marriage, except to the satisfaction of that prince. On these severe conditions, Cosmo took possession of the conquered country, and received the submissions of the unfortunate people, transferred to him by Spain.

However his ambition might be gratified by an accession of contiguous territory so considerable, which, while it rendered him sovereign of almost all the antient Etruria, greatly increased his consequence among the Italian states; he may be justly considered, as having too dearly purchased these advantages. Philip,
by

by retaining the fortresses of the Tuscan coast, remained the arbiter of Cosmo, and of his dominions, which he could, at his pleasure, invade with facility: while the latter power, compelled to adopt all the interests and quarrels of the court of Madrid, became dependent on the Spanish monarchy, and too deeply involved in its future destiny, wars, or misfortunes. These reflexions, which time and experience have proved to be well founded, did not however prevent the contemporaries of Cosmo, from admiring the dexterity and capacity, which had enabled him by negotiation, to wrest from the most powerful and ambitious monarch of Europe, a province that gave its possessor an entrance into the center of Italy^k. The wretched survivors of the Republic of Sienna, who had taken refuge at Monté Alcino, did not long enjoy even the shadow of their antient freedom. Attacked by the Duke in their retreat; abandoned and even sold by Henry the Second, at the peace of Cateau, made with Philip; and destitute of the means of opposing the superior force of Florence, aided by Spain; they, after protracting as long as any hope remained, their final submission, voluntarily yielded to their fate. Cosmo, on that occasion, acting with equal policy and magnanimity, extended a general amnesty to all his new subjects; and in the regulations which he enacted for their future government, it must be owned that he united the measures for confirming his own authority,

C H A P.
VII.
1557.

1558,
1559.
Conclusion
of the war
with the
Siennese.

^k Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 229—276.

CHAP. VII. with the protection and happiness of the Siennese.¹

1560—
1570.
Policy of
Cosmo.

He is created Great Duke of Tuscany, by Pius the Fifth.

To the successful accomplishment of his projects of ambition, and the augmentation of his dominions, succeeded in their turn the arts of peace, and the intrigues of a watchful policy. The court of Rome, during the two successive pontificates of Medequino and of Ghisleri, who assumed the names of Pius the Fourth, and Pius the Fifth, was constantly either friendly or subservient to the views of the Duke; who, by artfully flattering the weaknesses, or ministering to the necessities of the head of the church, held all Italy in respect, and even excited the jealous vigilance of Philip the Second himself. Pius the Fourth, elevated to the papal chair by Cosmo's friendship, not only repaid him by every act of grateful attention or compliance; but meditated to confer on him the title of "Grand Duke of Tuscany," when he was prevented by death. His successor, however, not less disposed to prove his attachment to the family of Medicis, completed the intention of the deceased pope; and by virtue of the right which the sovereign pontiffs arrogated of distributing crowns, solemnly invested and inaugurated Cosmo, with great splendor, in the church of St. Peter at Rome. It was in vain that the Emperor of Germany, Maximilian the Second, protested against the act as invalid, and derogatory to the Imperial claims or jurisdiction over

¹ Gallazzi, vol. ii. p. 345—367.

Italy. His feeble reclamations, unsupported by military force, were disregarded. Even the sullen disapprobation of the King of Spain, accompanied with some indirect menaces of resentment, did not prove more effectual. The new Grand Duke, powerful at home, sustained by Pius the Fifth, acknowledged by France and England, and well able to repel insult or attack, steadily maintained his recent dignity, and eventually triumphed over the opposition of the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

C H A P.
VII.

1560—

1570.

Previous to his acquisition of the title conferred on him by the Romish see, Cosmo, already diminished in his bodily strength, and feeling himself unequal to the severe fatigue of government, resigned the active-administration of affairs to Francis, his eldest son, and constituted him regent of Tuscany. He accompanied the act of resignation, however, with so many conditions, and reserved to himself so many prerogatives or rights; that, while he appeared to have renounced the supreme power, he in fact only associated the prince to it, and remained not less the real and efficient sovereign. His ambition was even powerfully awakened and repeatedly excited, by the flattering entreaties which the Corsicans made him, to receive them into the number of his subjects. That island, oppressed by the Genoese in the sixteenth century, as it has equally been in the eighteenth, had maintained a long and successful contest against its tyrants. The insurgents, who were already possessed of all the most important

Partial ab-
dication of
Cosmo.

He rejects
the submis-
sion of the
Corsicans.

C H A P. VII. places, earnestly besought the Grand Duke to liberate them from an odious servitude. They even threatened to invite the Turks, and voluntarily to become subjects of a Mahometan prince, rather than return under the yoke of their former masters. The vicinity of Corsica to the coast of Tuscany; its geographical position, in the center of the Mediterranean; and the addition of so considerable a dominion to those which he already possessed, formed strong incentives to animate the exertions of Cosmo; who would willingly have extended to them his protection. But, too dependent on Spain to venture on so hazardous a step, without previously consulting the court of Madrid, he returned an ambiguous answer; and Philip, who was not only allied to the Republic of Genoa, but jealous of the further aggrandizement of the House of Medicis, interposed such obstacles, as effectually prevented the prosecution of the design.^m

1570,
1571.
His foreign
policy.

Humiliating as this restraint must have been to an ambitious and high-spirited prince, he nevertheless steadily pursued his original system of policy; and even in defiance of the earnest solicitations of Catherine of Medicis, and her son Charles the Ninth of France, who made advances to obtain his friendship, adhered invariably to his connexion with the court of Madrid. Tranquil at home, and enriched by a wise œconomy, Cosmo was able to extend assistance to other powers. He aided the Em-

^m Galluzzi, vol. iii. chap. iv. v. and 6. Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 759.

peror Maximilian the Second, against the two Sultans, Soliman and Selim, in Hungary; sent a body of forces to the Duke of Alva, engaged in reducing the Netherlands; and advanced pecuniary support to that general, when unable to pay the Spanish soldiery under his command. The island of Malta being pressed by the Ottoman arms, he dispatched his gallies, to the relief of the knights; assisted the King of France against his Hugonot subjects; and bore no inconsiderable part in the memorable victory, gained over the Turks at Lepanto^a. When we reflect on these circumstances, we must admit that Cosmo occupied an important place among the European powers of the second rank, during the period under consideration.

CHAP.
VII.

1570,
1571.

Domestic
misfor-
tunes of
Cosmo.

The repose which accompanied the conclusion of his reign, and which rendered him one of the most fortunate princes of the age, considered as a sovereign, was not however extended to his private life. His felicity was even embittered by some of the severest individual privations or afflictions, to which humanity is subject. Neither Augustus Cæsar, nor Septimius Severus, had greater reason to complain in this respect. His eldest daughter died in the flower of youth, before the accomplishment of her intended nuptials with the Duke of Ferrara; and her sister, Lucretia of Medicis, who was substituted in her room, did not long survive the marriage, and left no issue^o. Two

^a Galluzzi, vol. iii. chap. vii. ^o Ibid. p. 23, and p. 48.

C H A P. of his five sons, the Princes John and Garcia,
 VII. who had already nearly attained to manhood,
 1570, and who had given expectation of the most pro-
 1571. mising virtues, were snatched from him in the
 space of a few days, by a malignant fever. The Duchess, his wife, overcome with grief, expired soon afterwards, unable to support their loss. Calumny ventured even to insult the pungency of Cosmo's distress, by propagating reports, equally false and cruel, relative to the manner and circumstances of their deaths. It was confidently asserted, and long believed in Italy, that one of the princes having stabbed his brother, the survivor had been sacrificed to the fury of his incensed father, in the presence, and in defiance of the entreaties of the Duchess Eleanora. This fable, so injurious to the character of Cosmo, which was invented by the malignity of his contemporaries, is now deservedly exploded by posterity.^p

Death of
 his sons.

1572—
 1574.
 Adminis-
 tration of
 Francis,
 Prince Re-
 gent of
 Tuscany.

A more lasting source of uneasiness and disquietude presented itself to the Grand Duke, in the conduct and character of Francis, his eldest son, Prince Regent of Tuscany, whom he had associated to the government. Inferior to his father in all the arts of reigning, destitute of application and energy, difficult of access, and unpopular in his manners; Francis did not promise to his future subjects that felicity, which they had so long enjoyed under Cosmo. In his affection to the arts, and in his protec-

^p Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 74—93.

tion

CHAP.
VII.

1572—

1574.

Bianca Ca-
pello; her
history.

tion of letters, he alone discovered a resemblance to his ancestors, the Medicis. Domestic misfortunes and dissensions encreased the defects of his public character. Though Francis was married to the Arch-duchess Jane, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand the First, he had, previous to contracting that alliance, entered into the closest ties with Bianca Capello, a noble Venetian lady; whose history, adventures, and final elevation, intermingled with circumstances equally marvellous and romantic, have rendered her too celebrated in the annals of Tuscany. Her beauty, insinuation, and endowments of mind, enabled her to assume and to preserve, an unbounded influence over her lover; who, in contempt of decency, almost immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, had avowed his connection with Bianca, and lodged her publicly in the ducal palace. No remonstrances of Cosmo could dissolve, or even weaken the union; a circumstance the more serious in its nature, as the Princess of Tuscany, tho' she had given daughters to her husband, had not yet produced any male successor.⁹

To these alarming symptoms of future misfortune, the errors and irregularities of the Grand Duke himself, gave additional force. After the death of his wife Eleanora, he had attached himself to a Florentine lady, of the family of Albizzi; who being pregnant by him, might, it was apprehended, he raised to the

Amours
and death
of Cosmo.⁹ Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 164—174.

C H A P. situation of Great Duchess. Almeni, Valet de
 VII. Chambre to Cosmo, having revealed to the
1572— Prince Regent, the nature of his father's con-
1574. nexion, and having pointed out the conse-
 quences which were to be dreaded from his
 fondness, Francis ventured to oppose such a
 proof of weakness. Irritated to a degree of
 frenzy against the author of the discovery, the
 Grand Duke instantly passed his sword through
 the body of Almeni, who expiated his impru-
 dence, by his death; and Cosmo was even with
 difficulty restrained from proceeding to signal
 acts of resentment against his son^r. Some
 years subsequent to this event, having become
 enamoured of Camilla Martelli, a young Flo-
 rentine, and being exhorted by Pius the Fifth
 to legitimate his union with her, he espoused
 her, precisely as Louis the Fourteenth did
 Madame de Maintenon in the ensuing century;
 but, like the King of France, without associ-
 ating his wife to his ducal honours or dignity.
 She continued to live with him till his death,
 and obtained over him an ascendancy which
 she abused, in the same manner as the widow
 of Scarron is supposed to have influenced the
 councils of the cabinet of Versailles.

1574. Cosmo was unquestionably one of the most
Character of Cosmo. illustrious princes, whom Italy or Europe pro-
 duced during the sixteenth century. The his-
 tory of his reign, forms the best eulogium of
 his character. Called from an obscure and pri-
 vate station, at a very early period of life, and

^r Galuzzi, vol. iii. p. 161—164.

^s Ibid. p. 232—237.

placed

placed at the head of the Republic of Florence in a moment of crisis, he approved himself worthy of his high fortune. Emulous of the fame acquired by the elder Cosmo, and by Lorenzo of Medicis, he revived the study of polite letters, and extended his munificence to the most eminent artists of Tuscany. Michael Angelo Buonaroti, Cellini, Vasari, Ammanato, Bandinelli, and a number of celebrated men, were protected and enriched by his bounty. The name of Michael Angelo has attained to one of the highest places in the temple of Fame, from the wonderful universality of his genius, which not only embraced, but excelled in architecture, painting, and sculpture. Cellini, tho' one of the most admirable engravers of the sixteenth century, endowed with a variety of talents, is better known to us in the present age, by the eccentric and curious production attributed to him, denominated "The Life of Benvenuto Cellini;" a work abounding in anecdotes or adventures singularly romantic, as well as highly characteristic of the period in which he flourished. Even tho' the authenticity of Cellini's "Life" should be called in question, it carries indubitable marks of originality in every page. Vasari, born like Petrarch, at Arezzo in Tuscany, claims more celebrity from his pen, than from his pencil. The "Lives of the Italian Painters, Sculptors, and Architects," which he gave to the world in 1568, entitle Vasari to the regard of posterity. Both he and Cellini died in advanced age at Florence, towards the conclusion of the Grand Duke's reign. Ammanato

His protection of
the arts.

CHAP. nato embellished the capital of Tuscany with
 VII. sumptuous buildings, while the chizze! of Bandi-
 1574. nell, which seemed to rival that of Phidias, decorated the palaces or gardens of the family of Medicis, at Rome, as well as at Florence.

Genius and
 capacity of
 Cosmo.

Cosmo passed much of his leisure in the intercourse of these eminent men, and among their productions. His letters to Michael Angelo, which still exist, display a mind susceptible of the finest impressions, and penetrated with admiration of the sublime talents of that distinguished person, whom he caused to be interred in the chapel of the Medicis, with the utmost solemnity^t. He did not disdain to attend in person the funeral of Paul Jovius the historian, followed by his whole court^u. In capacity for government, he has been rarely excelled. His œconomy was free from any taint of avarice, and his vigilance was not degraded into suspicion. Clement in his nature, and even magnanimous, he was yet severe; and like Augustus, he seemed never to forget that he had succeeded to supreme power, usurped over a free Commonwealth. His personal courage and activity enabled him to meet danger, while his policy extricated him from repeated embarrassments, under which a prince of meaner talents must have sunk. The choice of his ministers proved his discernment and knowledge of mankind; but, able as they were, he never suf-

^t Dict. Hist. vols. i. ii. and ix. Arts. Cellini, Vasari, and Bandinelli. Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 436—444.

^u Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 327, 328.

ferred

ferred them to assume an authority independent of himself. C H A P.
VII.

His moral qualities are less pure and brilliant, than his political; nor can we excuse many of his actions, which flowed from very relaxed, or vicious principles. If we forgive him for having sent persons to Venice, expressly to assassinate Lorenzo of Medicis, the murderer of his predecessor Alexander; it is not possible to contemplate without horror, the fact of his retaining wretches near the person of Strozzi, in order to administer poison to that unfortunate exile. Truth however compels us to add, that Strozzi practised similar machinations against the Great Duke and his family². The age, and peculiarly Italy, was familiar with the use of poisons. Prelates, cardinals, and even Pope Paul the Third himself, the head of the Christian church, were publicly accused of using these detestable compositions³. It is curious to reflect that the same passion manifested itself among the French, a century later. The Marchioness de Brinvilliers, who expiated her atrocities at the stake, after having poisoned her nearest relations; employed an Italian of the name of Exili, to prepare the potions which she administered. Men and women of the highest rank, princesses and Marshals of France, the Countess de Soissons, and the Duke de Luxembourg, were accused of similar enor-

1574.
His moral
qualities.

² Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 122 and 123, and p. 226, 227, and vol. iii.

p. 359.

³ Ibid. p. 123—125, and p. 105—107.

mities;

CHAP. VII. 1574. mities; and Louis the Fourteenth was compelled to have recourse to the most severe legal measures, in order to repress so abominable a spirit. Cosmo was esteemed to be more learned in the nature and preparation of poisons, than any prince of his time: he occupied himself in his laboratory, with the research: and attained, as his contemporaries asserted, to the greatest perfection in the atrocious science.^a

His submission to the see of Rome.

The adherence of the Great Duke to the Catholic religion, was tinctured with bigotry, and inclined him to persecution. Even with every allowance made for the manners and modes of thinking received in the sixteenth century, we cannot regard without indignation, his celebrating the massacre of St. Bartholomew at Paris, with demonstrations of joy; followed by his sending an embassy to congratulate Charles the Ninth, on that atrocious act of barbarity and perfidy^a. Towards Pius the Fifth, a pontiff who breathed the sanguinary spirit of an inquisitor, rather than the mild temper of Christianity, he behaved with unbecoming and unworthy submission. Nor can we pardon his sacrificing to the ferocious zeal of that Pope, Carnesecchi; a man of genius and letters, who had rendered him distinguished services. Cosmo, after much expostulation and reluctance, delivered him up to the ministers of the holy see, by whom he was transferred to the prisons of the inquisition at Rome, for the

^a Galluzzi vol. i. p. 312, and v. iii. p. 434—436.

^a Ibid. vol. iii. p. 318, 319.

crime of heresy. He suffered by a public and ignominious death, on the bridge of St. Angelo, in that capital^b. We may add, as another proof of the same approbation of cruelty, the deference and devotion which the Grand Duke, thro'out his whole reign, manifested towards his father-in-law, Peter de Toledo, Viceroy of Naples; and likewise towards the Duke of Alva, who was of the same family. Human nature has rarely been disgraced by two men, who more conspicuously trampled upon all its rights, or who deluged with more blood the provinces committed to their government.^c

C H A P.
VII.
1574.
Severity.

At the time of Cosmo's death, Tuscany was perhaps the best administered state in Europe; and relatively to its size and extent, the richest and most flourishing country. England, under the able government of Elizabeth, could alone, contest for superiority on these points. An uninterrupted tranquillity of fourteen years, had obliterated the preceding misfortunes, and diffused general opulence. Manufactures and commerce had advanced rapidly in the capital, and spread throughout all the dependencies. The gaiety and felicity, which had characterised the Florentines, under the Cosmos and the Lorenzos of the preceding century, were restored: and every where manifested towards their sovereign, when he invaded Tuscany, and invited the people to resume their liberties, gave an indisput-

State of
Tuscany
under
Cosmo.

Felicity.

^b Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 150—158.

^c Ibid. p. 360.

able,

CHAP. VII. 1574. P. able, though an involuntary testimony to the wisdom, as well as to the lenity of the government^d. Fabricks of cloth, glass, chrystal, sugar, leather, and jewellery, were established, and produced immense profits. Even porcelain was already made at Florence, with considerable delicacy^e. Trade not only received every encouragement from the Grand Duke; but, he was, himself, like his ancestor the elder Cosmo, personally engaged in commerce; and he constantly employed two galleons in bringing home the commodities of the Levant, which he imported into Spain and Portugal^f. A circumstance which will appear much more singular, is that the Duchess Eleanora was interested in similar undertakings, which proved exceedingly lucrative, and which she did not consider as derogatory to her dignity. Merchants and factors from Florence, had already established themselves in Spanish America, India, and even in China^g. Leghorn, and Porto Ferraio situate in the isle of Elba, which latter place had been ceded by Spain to Cosmo, were become ports of universal resort. In 1575, the year after that prince's decease, the article of cloth only, which was manufactured in Tuscany, employed a prodigious number of persons, and amounted annually to full two millions of Ducats, or near nine hundred thousand pounds sterling; exclusive of the

Com-
merce.

Manufac-
tures.

^d Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 128—132, and vol. i. p. 322, 323.

^e Ibid. vol. iii. p. 432—434.

^f Ibid. p. 430—432.

^g Ibid. p. 431.

fabricks

fabricks of silk, and cloth of goldⁿ. Colonies were brought into the Maremma, or low country of Sienna, towards the shore of the Mediterranean, in order to people and cultivate that marshy and unwholesome tract of land. Similar, or even greater exertions were most successfully made at Pisa. The city, which in 1537 scarcely contained seven thousand inhabitants, and only presented a picture of depopulation or wretchedness; was, before 1572 so augmented, as to have twenty-one thousand people resident within the walls. Cosmo re-established the university, drained the surrounding marshes, and frequently transferred to Pisa his court and residence.ⁱ

The encouragement extended by him to the elegant arts, tended to excite emulation, while it introduced refinement, and diffused wealth among his subjects. A manufacture of tapestry was brought to Florence, from Flanders, at his expence. The city was embellished with monuments of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Cosmo printed a superb edition of the Pandects of Justinian; and, in 1548 he opened the library of St. Laurence, though the edifice was not completed till 1571^k. In it, were deposited the invaluable collection of manuscripts, made by the princes of the house of Medicis, preserved by Leo the Tenth; and transported back from Rome to Florence, by

ⁿ Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 428—430.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 353, 354.

^k Ibid. vol. ii. p. 431.

H A P. Clement the Seventh. Michael Angelo, and
 VII. under his direction, Ammanato, constructed
 1574. the library, with great taste and elegance. The
 beautiful bridge thrown across the Arno at Florence, denominated the "Ponté della Trinita," one of the most distinguished structures of the kind, which Europe has witnessed since the revival of the arts, was erected by Ammanato, who survived the Grand Duke¹. Medals, struck by Cosmo's order, and executed by the most able artists, perpetuated the principal events of his reign and administration. Louis the Fourteenth may be said to have emulated or imitated the Grand Duke, in many of the monuments and establishments which he founded at Paris.

Revenues.

The treasures, left by Cosmo to Francis his successor, in money, jewels, plate, and funds employed in commerce, were immense. The ordinary revenues amounted to eleven hundred thousand Ducats^m. At the close of the war against Sienna, in 1559, he had contracted a debt with the merchants of Antwerp and Genoa, which exceeded a million of Ducats: yet by the year 1562, this vast incumbrance was almost entirely discharged; and when, in 1564 he resigned the administration to his son, the ducal domains were completely redeemed, and every public debt was liquidatedⁿ. Tuscany was provided with the most ample means of in-

Military
 force.

¹ Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 350, and p. 353.

^m About five hundred thousand pounds, sterling. Dict. Hist. vol. i. art. Ammanato. Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 434—446, and vol. iii. p. 453—455.

ⁿ Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 413—417.

ternal defence, and external attack. The un-
 remitting attention of the Grand Duke had
 foreseen, and provided for all emergencies. His
 military force, composed of volunteers, and
 formed into bands, did not fall short of thirty-
 six thousand men, who could be assembled on
 the shortest notice. Four hundred light horse,
 stationed at Pisa, protected the coasts^o. Twelve
 gallies, constructed by himself, were maintain-
 ed at Leghorn, or at Porto Ferraio: to these
 were joined four others, belonging to the order
 of St. Stephen, which he had instituted; and
 the knights of which, were constantly employed
 in cruizing against the Moors, or in the Le-
 vant^p. It appears, that at the end of his reign,
 the Florentine state contained within its limits,
 about seven hundred thousand persons; and
 the territory of Sienna, nearly a hundred thou-
 sand^q. We may judge from this proportion, how
 much the latter country had been depopulated
 by war. A number of fortresses and citadels,
 erected in various parts of his dominions, equal-
 ly retained the people in obedience, and se-
 cured them from invasion^r. So wise and en-
 lightened a government, supported by com-
 merce, and regulated by a systematic œconomy,
 excited respect from surrounding states. Cosmo
 was powerful in Rome, by his numerous adhe-
 rents in the sacred college, by his intrigues in
 the Conclave, his politic submission to the papal

CHAP.
VII.

1574.

Marine.

Power,
grandeur,
and consi-
deration of
Tuscany.

^o Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 352.

^q Ibid.

^p Ibid.

^r Ibid. p. 351.

C H A P. VII. see, and the dread of his arms. The Imperial court, allied to him by marriage, and in want of his assistance against the Turks, expressed for him, peculiarly after the termination of the quarrel relative to the title of *Grand Duke*, the utmost regard. France solicited his friendship, and courted his alliance; after having vainly endeavoured to prevent his conquest and acquisition of Sienna^s. Even Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, the most powerful monarchs whom Europe had seen since Charlemagne, treated him with distinguished attention; considering his support, as the best security for their possession of Milan and the kingdom of Naples. The conclusion of his reign may perhaps be regarded as the highest point of elevation to which Tuscany attained, after the extinction of the Republic; and the incapacity, or misconduct of his immediate successor, rendered the memory of Cosmo peculiarly dear to his country.

^s Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 259—264.

CHAP. VIII.

PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

Review of the papacy, from the deposition of John the Twenty-third, by the council of Constance. — Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth. — Julius the Second. — Leo the Tenth. — Adrian the Sixth. — Clement the Seventh. — Paul the Third. — Convocation of the council of Trent. — Julius the Third. — Paul the Fourth. — Pius the Fourth. — Dissolution of the council of Trent. — Pius the Fifth. — Election of Gregory the Thirteenth. — State of the temporal power of the Roman pontiffs in 1574. — Dominions. — Population. — Police. — Defective administration. — Revenues of the Holy See. — Military forces. — Treasures. — State of the fine arts. — Luxuries and refinements. — Authority of the Inquisition. — Examination of the spiritual power and prerogatives of the Holy See. — Pecuniary impositions and exactions. — Inquisitorial prohibitions of literary productions.

THE strongest proof of that profound ignorance and servitude, in which the human mind was sunk during the middle ages, is the blind and undiminished veneration of all Europe for the Holy See, in defiance of the crimes with which it was disgraced and dishonored. The certainty of impunity, and a perfect knowledge of the state of darkness and barbarism which precluded any rational attempt at emancipa-

CHAP.
VIII.

Abuse of
the pontifi-
cal power
in the dark
ages.

CHAP. tion; seem to have induced the sovereign pontiffs to throw off every restraint imposed on their vices and passions. The college of Cardinals betrayed no less disregard to every consideration of their own character, and to the sanctity of the supreme dignity of the Christian church, in the choice of persons to fill the chair of St. Peter.

1414.
Crimes of
John the
Twenty-
third,

The long list of enormities, solemnly charged against John the Twenty-third, in the council of Constance, fill us on perusing them, with no less wonder, than abhorrence and indignation. Fifty principal articles, containing almost all the flagitious excesses, which we read with incredulity, in the pages of Suetonius, even when related of Nero and of Caligula, were proved before the fathers, assembled to restore order in the Christian church. Yet, as if these charges were not sufficient, twenty other heads of accusation were suppressed, for the honor of the apostolic see. Our admiration ceases, however, in some measure, when we consider that the Pope, previous to his election, had exercised the profession of a corsair, that he was known to be stained with almost every species of moral turpitude, and that he purchased by notorious simony, his elevation to the papal throne.²

1417.
Election of
Martin the
Fifth.

The council, after having deposed, and delivered over to the disposal of the Emperor Si-

² Platina, *Vies des Papes*, p. 559, 560. Bruys, *Histoire des Papes*, vol. iv. p. 41, and p. 46—49.

gismund,

gismund, so unworthy a pontiff, proceeded to fill the vacant chair; and the delegates deputed for the purpose, unanimously chose the Cardinal Colonna, who assumed the title of Martin the Fifth. He was, it must be owned, exempt from the imputations and glaring impieties, attributed to his predecessor: but he proved equally an enemy to all reform; and equally destitute of those virtues, which awakened reason expects in the person appointed to govern so many nations, as the supreme head of the Christian faith^b. Under his successors, during the course of the fifteenth century, we trace the same interested policy, the same unjust usurpation, and the same scandalous venality, which preceded the council of Constance. Another assembly of ecclesiastics, convoked at Basil, was even less successful in its attempts to diminish the abuse of the papal power, than the first council had been found. Eugene the Fourth, more cautious than John the Twenty-third, and instructed by his predecessor's misfortunes, invented means to evade the authority of the council, and ultimately contrived to disperse that formidable body^c. Pius the Second, better known by the name of Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the only pontiff, who, from his love of learning, and his virtues, lays any claim to esteem^d. Sixtus the Fourth sullied the eccle-

C H A P.
VIII.

1417.

1431—
1439.1458—
1464.

^b Bruys, vol. iv. p. 59, 60. Bzovius, an. 1431. Platina, p. 564, 565.

^c Bruys, vol. iv. p. 120—127, and p. 142, 143.

^d Platina, p. 619—636.

C H A P.
VIII.

1491—

1503.

Pontificate
of Alexan-
der the
Sixth.

siastical profession, and excited the detestation of Italy, by his profligacy of manners, injustice, and crimes^c. But, great as these excesses may appear, they were eclipsed and obliterated by the memorable pontificate of Roderic Borgia, who assumed the title of Alexander the Sixth.

The concurring testimony of numerous, irreproachable, and contemporary writers, can scarcely induce us to credit the recital of his enormities, continued during a reign of twelve years. His son, the celebrated and flagitious Cæsar Borgia, who even surpassed in atrocity, the model which he copied, has left a name proverbial for infamy and turpitude^f. Yet, while Rome, and the surrounding territory groaned beneath the tyranny of two monsters, who cemented their usurpations with the blood of the principal nobility; such was the depressed and lethargic condition of mankind throughout Europe, that no effort to reform the Christian church, or to withdraw from the supremacy of the papal see, was ever exerted. Alexander was so fully convinced of the impunity with which he might insult even the greatest princes, that he treated with menaces the ambassadors of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Emanuel, Kings of Spain and Portugal, when they ventured, in the names of their respective sovereigns, to remonstrate with

^c Bruys, vol. iv. 262. Onuphrius Panvinus, p. 12.

^f Onuphrius Panvinus, Vies des Papes, p. 25—36. Ciaconius, Vitæ Pontific. p. 151. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 320—323.

him,

him on his vices^s. Such was the veneration which his office inspired, that it seemed to swallow up, or to suspend all the faculties of reason. We find Charles the Eighth, King of France, after he had entered Rome as a conqueror, and had driven the Pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo; hastening to prostrate himself at the pontiff's feet, to implore his benediction, and to renew his own submission. During the Jubilee of the year 1500, when in consequence of the indulgencies granted to pilgrims, an immense concourse of strangers, from every part of Europe, crowded to Rome; the excesses and debaucheries, openly committed, as well by ecclesiastics, as by the laity, exceeded belief: immoralities which were encouraged by the example and permission of the Pope. It was with the money extorted from all the Catholic states, under pretence of fitting out a Crusade against the Turks, that he completed the subjection of the Roman Barons, and aggrandized the temporal power of the Holy See; which, at the time of his accession, possessed only an inconsiderable part of that territory, annexed to it since the beginning of the sixteenth century.^h

The pontificate of Julius the Second, was not, it must be confessed, stained with such notorious impieties; but, it was scarcely better calculated to impress the Christian world with

C H A P.
VIII.

1491—

1503.

Temporal
power of
the popes.

1503—

1513.

Julius the
Second.

^s Bruys, vol. iv. p. 306, 307. ^h Ibid. p. 307, 308, and p. 311.

C H A P.
VIII.

1503—

1513.

respect for the person, or the office, of the sovereign pontiff. His election was not only obtained by means of the most flagrant corruption; but, his whole reign evinced a mind, exclusively devoted to ambition, conquest, and revenge. Inattentive to every duty incumbent on the pastor of his flock; faithless to his promises and treaties; tyrannical towards his subjects; he was only intent on carrying his arms beyond the Apennines, and on expelling the French from Italy. By a perfidious violation of his agreement with Cæsar Borgia, he despoiled that Prince of his territorial acquisitions, attained at the expence of so much blood; and united Borgia's usurpations to the dominions of the church. Against Louis the Twelfth, King of France, tho' one of the most virtuous and irreproachable sovereigns who has reigned in modern ages, his resentment knew no limits; and his eagerness to accelerate the expulsion of the French from the Milanese, induced him to lay aside all the decencies annexed to his sacerdotal function. Armed like a soldier, Julius, at seventy years of age, appeared in the trenches; directed the operations of war; and, on the surrender of Mirandola, was carried into the city, through the breach, in military triumphⁱ. Mahomet the Second, or Selim the First, could not have entered Constantinople or Cairo with more ostentatious splendor.

ⁱ Bruys, vol. iv. p. 340.

These proceedings, so strongly calculated to excite scandal, and to awaken reflexion, produced little or no effect upon an age nursed in superstition, and habituated to a servile obedience towards the see of Rome. Louis the Twelfth, actuated more by just indignation, and by motives of policy, than by any enlightened sentiments of enlarged reflexion, attempted to convoke a council, and to depose so turbulent, as well as unjust a pontiff; but his feeble effort terminated in the most abject submissions to the successor of Julius. We may form some estimate of the state of the human mind, and of its modes of thinking, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the conduct of the Cardinal of Medicis, afterwards Pope Leo the Tenth; who was taken prisoner by the French, at the victory of Ravenna, while acting as the papal Legate. That dextrous prelate, by dispensing to the soldiers absolution from the censures, in which they were equally involved with their sovereign, on account of their hostility to the Holy See; effected so prompt and so considerable a desertion among the conquerors, as exceedingly to diminish their army. Numbers went over to the enemy whom they had recently vanquished; and in order to obtain more complete pardon for their preceding guilt, carried off with them, their arms and horses. It was vain as well as impossible to oppose a power, fortified and sustained by such prejudices.^k

C H A P.
VIII.1503—
1513.Superstition of the
age.^k Bruys, vol. iv. p. 359.

CH A P.
VIII.

1513—
1521.
Reign of
Leo the
Tenth.

Measures
of the Holy
See, for
repressing
immora-
lity.

1513,
1514.

To this martial reign, succeeded the memorable pontificate of Leo the Tenth, celebrated by poets, historians, and men of genius. Rome, accustomed to the crimes of Alexander, and the tyranny of Julius, beheld with joy a prince, whose refinement, munificence, and protection of the arts, rendered his court the center of elegance and pleasure. Leo, more decent in his vices, and more master of his passions, substituted artifice and intrigue in the place of arms. While he abandoned himself to the excesses of sensuality, or was occupied by the protection of talents and letters, he committed to his generals the conduct of the armies, which he sent against France. It is even evident that he did not totally disregard the progress of immorality and libertinism; since in the beginning of his reign, he published a very severe decree against those philosophers, who ventured to teach and to assert that the soul was mortal, and the world eternal. Many of the decrees of the Council of Lateran, which were promulgated by the Pope in the same year, for the reformation of manners, and regulation of ecclesiastics, merit the highest approbation¹. But, the pecuniary oppressions and vexations of the Holy See, were become intolerable; and Europe, long plunged in the grossest ignorance or superstition, began to betray signs of approaching reason. These symptoms did not first manifest themselves in the German empire, though

¹ Bruys, vol. iv. p. 382, 383, and p. 399—400.

the *Reformation*, so denominated, began in that country. The French, who, in every age have led the way to innovation, preceded Luther in their remonstrances and invectives, against the exactions of the court of Rome. It required all the exertions and vigilance of Francis the First, to maintain the "Concordate," which he himself had made with Leo, during their interview at Bologna, and to procure its reception throughout the kingdom. The parliament of Paris, the university of that capital, and many of the clergy, publicly declaimed against the concessions made by their sovereign to the Pope. If Francis had chosen to yield to this general sentiment, instead of opposing it, and to emancipate himself from so severe a yoke, it is unquestionable that his subjects were equally prepared and willing, to have entirely withdrawn themselves from the papal supremacy^m. The great secession from the court and see of Rome, which took place a few years later in England, under Henry the Eighth, might thus have been anticipated in France.

C H A P.
VIII.1513,
1514.
Resistance
of France,
to the
Papal pre-
tensions.

1515.

Even in Spain, when Leo attempted to levy by his arbitrary mandate, a tax of the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, during three years, under pretence of undertaking a Crusade against Selim the First, the Turkish Emperor; Cardinal Ximenés, then Regent, resisted so glaring an act of oppression, and was imitated in his conduct, by all the bishops of the kingdom. They

Similar ef-
forts in
Spain.

1516,

1517.

^m Bruys, vol. iv. p. 393.

C H A P. unanimously refused submission ; and Leo, apprehensive of the most serious consequences, instantly desisted from his demand. The letter which Ximenes addressed to him on that occasion, contains the most enlightened sentiments of true patriotism. While it professes filial obedience to the just and equitable demands of the Romish see, it declares that all attempts to render the Spanish clergy tributary, will be attended with confusion and disappointment. ⁿ

Reforma-
tion of
Luther.

The same experiment however, which in more opulent, or bigotted kingdoms, had produced only a fermentation that evaporated in menaces ; gave rise in Germany, a country comparatively poor, to a complete subversion of the authority exercised for so many centuries, by the church of Rome. The traffic of indulgencies, taken away from the Augustine order of Monks, by whom it had been usually carried on, and conferred on the Dominicans, constituted the original cause of so vast a revolution. Luther, irritated by opposition, and conducted insensibly from one step to another, finished by a total rejection of all intercourse with, or deference towards, the pretended vicars of Christ. Leo betrayed no theological rancour, nor disposition to severity, in his treatment of that bold innovator. When informed of the circumstances which had excited his animosity, he ingenuously confessed that “Luther was a man of excellent capacity ; and that the

ⁿ Flechier, Hist, de Ximenes, liv. v. p. 665.

“ quarrel

“ quarrel was merely the effect of monastic jealousy and rivalry.” He long delayed the publication of the *bull*, or rescript, by which he condemned Luther’s propositions; and appeared desirous rather to mollify, than to incense or drive to extremities, so dangerous an adversary. But the evil, which lay deep, admitted of no cure; and reason, when once directed to the examination of the pretensions arrogated by the see of Rome, soon levelled the fabric which ignorance and bigotry had cemented. °

This diminution of his revenues and spiritual authority, neither produced any alteration in the manners, nor appears to have had any influence on the temper of Leo. The Vatican continued to form the center of magnificence, and the asylum of genius. While Michael Angelo Buonaroti exercised his sublime talents on the edifice of St. Peter, Raphael was employed in painting the gallery of the pontifical palace. The banquets of the head of the church, which resembled those of Heliogabalus in luxury, were seasoned with the conversation of the most eminent men in every branch of polite literature, whom Leo’s bounty had attracted to his court. His enthusiasm for the productions of poetry, may be estimated in some measure, by the extraordinary and incredible *bull* which he ventured to issue, in favor of the “ Orlando Furioso” of Ariosto; menacing with excommunication all such as should

C H A P.
VIII.

1516,

1517.

1518—

1521.

Elegance,
and splendor of the
court of
Rome.

° Bruys, vol. iv. p. 403—409.

presume

C H A P. presume to censure it, or to prevent the profit
 VIII. arising from its sale^p. While we do justice to
 158— Leo's elegant taste, in thus taking the Ferrarese
 1521. poet under the immediate protection of the
 church, we cannot reflect without amazement
 on such an abuse of his pontifical power; nor
 avoid perceiving the contempt in which he
 must have held the human mind, when he could
 impose such an order upon Europe. As well
 might an Archbishop of Canterbury menace
 with ecclesiastical censures, all those who should
 dare to attack "Hudibras," or who should im-
 pede the sale of Spenser's "Fairy Queen."
 The difference only lies in the spirit of the six-
 teenth century, as compared or contrasted with
 the progress and diffusion of knowledge in the
 present age.

Death, and
 character,
 of Leo.

The Cardinals Sadolet and Bembo, renowned
 for their eloquence and erudition, were Leo's
 principal secretaries. Such was his boundless
 generosity towards persons distinguished by ta-
 lents of whatever nature, that the papal trea-
 sury was said to be unequal to supplying his
 munificence; and it is in this feature of his
 character that we peculiarly trace the son of
 Lorenzo the magnificent. He was engaged in
 these elegant recreations, when a premature
 death, occasioned, as is asserted, by excess of joy
 at the favorable accounts received of his troops,
 who expelled the French from Parma, termi-
 nated his memorable, but short pontificate. If
 we regard him only as a prince, he possessed

^p Bruys, vol. iv. p. 419.

many

many of the qualities calculated to excite esteem, or even admiration; and the gratitude of men of genius, whom he so liberally protected, has ensured him immortality. But, in the character of chief of the Christian church, his dissolute sensuality, and his neglect or contempt of all the duties incumbent on a sovereign pontiff, rendered him highly improper to occupy that situation, at a time when the most exemplary virtues were unequal to withstand the torrent of innovation.^a

CHAP.
VIII.
1518—
1521.

If all the simplicity, disinterestedness, and humility of the primitive ages, exemplified in a Catholic bishop, could have checked the progress of Luther's doctrines, or closed the breach which he had occasioned; the elevation of Adrian the Sixth to the papal chair, might have produced these healing effects. The preponderant influence of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, exerted in the sacred college, raised to the pontificate, on the death of Leo, his own preceptor; a Fleming, who neither aspired to that high dignity, nor received with any emotion, the intelligence of his election. Endowed with every apostolic virtue which ought to have qualified him to fill with utility to mankind, the Holy See; he was unfortunately deficient in the address and policy, indispensable for enabling him to conduct the temporal interests annexed to the office. Habituated to the ma-

1521—
1523.
Character,
and reign
of Adrian
the Sixth.

^a Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48, 49. Paul Jovius, Vit. Leon. x. p. 188, and p. 191. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 417—421.

C H A P. nagement of a college at Louvain in the Nether-
 VIII. lands, he possessed no capacity for the govern-
 I 521— ment of a state. Versed only in theological
 I 523. learning, he despised the elegant arts; and
 turned with abhorrence, from the most finished
 productions of painting, or of sculpture. In-
 capable of deceit, he avowed his detestation of
 the vices or abuses which sullied the church of
 Rome; and candidly owned the necessity of a
 reformation, while he endeavoured to oppose
 the progress of Luther. Frugal in his expences,
 plain in his diet, and regarding the splendor of
 his predecessor, as unbecoming the character
 of a Christian pontiff; he disgusted a people
 accustomed to the magnificence of a voluptuous
 court. Adrian the Sixth, detested by the in-
 habitants of Rome, and not less odious to the
 college of Cardinals; slighted in the portion
 of Germany where the Protestant doctrines had
 taken too deep a root to be subverted; and,
 convinced that all his efforts to sustain the em-
 pire of the Catholic religion, would prove inef-
 fectual; closed his short reign: pursued even
 beyond the grave, by the satirical malevolence
 of the poets whom he had irritated and ne-
 glected.^r

I 523—
 I 526.
 Clement
 the Se-
 venth.

Adrian was succeeded, after a long and stormy
 Conclave, by the Cardinal Julius of Medicis,
 who assumed the name of Clement the Seventh;
 during whose administration, both the church,

^r Onuphr. Panvin. p. 50—59. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 423, 424, and
 p. 426—428, and p. 432—440.

and

and the city of Rome, were equally oppressed under the severest calamities. His accession commenced notwithstanding, with the most auspicious symptoms of public tranquillity. The new pontiff, who was an illegitimate son of Julian of Medicis, brother to the celebrated Lorenzo, having followed the profession of arms in the early part of his life, had been a commander of the military order of Rhodes. In that capacity, clad in armor, he had assisted, scarcely ten years before, at the coronation of Leo the Tenth; who nevertheless did not hesitate to raise him to the dignity of a Cardinal, and employed him in the most eminent posts of civil government. None of the characteristic munificence of the house from which he sprung, could be traced in Clement, whose predominant passion was avarice; but, blended with ambition, duplicity, and irresolution. These vices and defects of character rendered his pontificate odious or contemptible; and eclipsed the fame which his protection of letters, and the decorum of his manners, might otherwise have secured to him. Fluctuating in perpetual uncertainty as a prince, between the two powerful monarchs, Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, who alternately menaced Italy with servitude; bound by no political ties, and faithless to his most solemn engagements; his person and dignity became alike despised by all Europe. The fatal consequence of his perfidious versatility, was the destruction of Rome; which the Constable Charles of Bourbon, commanding,

C H A P.
VIII.1523—
1526.

His character.

1527.
Sack of
Rome.

C H A P.
VIII.

1527.

Degrada-
tion of the
pontifical
power.

Imprison-
ment of
Clement.

manding the Imperial forces, stormed, and entered, tho' he fell in the breach. Rome had not experienced a similar misfortune since the year 1413, when Ladislaus, King of Naples, of the house of Anjou, captured, and abandoned to pillage, that wealthy, but defenceless city^s. So low was the pontifical office sunk, in the estimation of a licentious and insolent soldiery, that the Lutheran troops, who had been conducted by Fronsberg, one of their leaders, from the Protestant circles of the German empire, into Italy, treated with contumely, the head of the Christian church. After loading him with every opprobrious epithet, they formed a cavalcade, and elected in a mock Conclave, Martin Luther for pope^t. During this humiliating ceremony, Clement, shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, experienced the horrors of famine and captivity, aggravated by insults of every nature. The Spanish commander who succeeded to Charles of Bourbon, destitute of compassion for the fallen pontiff, punished with immediate death, the attempt to introduce any sort of provisions into the fortress; and after an ineffectual struggle, he was reduced to sign an ignominious capitulation with his enemies, by the terms of which he still remained their prisoner. Alarson, who, only two years preceding, had taken charge of the person of Francis the First, subsequent to

^s Bruys, vol. iv. p. 443, 444, and p. 447—451, and p. 458—461. Guicciardini, livre xviii. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 62—65.

^t Bruys, vol. iv. p. 460, 461.

the battle of Pavia, performed the same office to Clement: and such was the pontiff's distress, that unable to furnish the sum exacted by the Imperial general as the price of his release, he did not hesitate to put up to public sale, three Cardinal's hats, which were purchased by the highest bidder. In what light must Europe have considered the sacred college, after such a notorious act of degradation and simony! We are reminded in perusing this fact, of the sale of the Roman empire itself, performed on the same spot, by the Prætorian guards, when it was purchased by Didius Julianus, before the conclusion of the second century of the Christian era. Even when Clement escaped from prison soon afterwards, he neither acted with consistency, dignity, nor energy; and he finished by supplicating the friendship of Charles, from whom he had received the severest indignities, added to the most cruel injuries. ^u

On every side, the papal power appeared to be hastening to quick decay. Henry the Eighth, irritated at the delays and obstacles imposed by the Pope, to the measure of his divorce; excited by the rapacious desire of seizing on the monastic revenues; and, finally incensed at the declaration by which Clement annulled his marriage with Anne Boleyn; threw off all subjection or adherence to the see of Rome. Thro'out the German empire, more particularly in Saxony and in Brandenburg, Luther augmented his followers, found protection in the

CHAP.

VIII.

1527.

1528—

1534.

Decline of
the papal
authority.

^u Bruys, vol. iv. p. 461—464, and p. 468, 469.

C H A P. electoral college itself, and defied the excommunications of the Vatican. The northern
 VIII. kingdoms, Denmark and Sweden, whose poverty made them more sensible to the pecuniary
 1528— exactions of the Romish see, and whose remote
 1534. local position rendered them almost independent of its authority, began to exhibit alarming symptoms of disaffection. Switzerland, whose inhabitants had always proved themselves the peculiar champions of the pontifical dignity and office, was shaken and divided thro'out all the Cantons: while the new opinions, which had penetrated into France, threatened speedily to subvert the antient religion in that country.

Ambitious
 projects of
 Clement.

In so embarrassing a situation, Clement, pressed by the Emperor to assemble a general council, as the only adequate remedy for so many evils; mindful of the alarming steps taken at Constance and at Basil, to redress the grievances of the church; and deterred by his apprehensions, from recurring to an expedient which might level, or at least reduce the papal authority; continually protracted any decision, and invented pretexts to delay its convocation. In the success of his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medicis, he nevertheless found a consolation, which more than counterbalanced all the misfortunes of his calamitous pontificate. The pliability of his character and policy, enabled him to profit of every means by which to gratify his personal ambition; and fortune which had treated him with so much rigor as a sovereign, seemed on this favorite point, to
 relax

relax in her severity. After re-establishing the power of his house at Florence, and procuring for his relation Alexander of Medicis, the support and alliance of Charles the Fifth, whose natural daughter that monarch bestowed on him; Clement listened in turn to the flattering overtures made him by the King of France. Catherine of Medicis, who became afterwards so celebrated in the history of Europe, and who stood in a remote degree of consanguinity to the Pope, having at Marseilles espoused Henry, Duke of Orleans, second son of Francis the First; Clement was occupied with projects for providing her a splendid establishment, either in Tuscany, or in Lombardy, when a lingering disease terminated his life and reign. ^x

C H A P.
VIII.

1528—

1534.

His death.

The Conclave, after a short deliberation, unanimously elected to the chair of St. Peter, the Cardinal Alexander Farnese, dean of the sacred college, who assumed the name of Paul the Third. He held the papal see during fifteen years, though he had already attained to a very advanced period of life, previous to his accession. Conscious that it would be impossible, without exciting universal complaint, further to procrastinate the convocation of the general council demanded by Charles the Fifth; he affected to pursue an opposite policy from

1534—

1537.

Paul the
Third.

^x Onuphr. Panvin. p. 65—67. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 470—484. Guicciardini, liv. xx. Fra Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 63—67. Mem. de Du Bellay, liv. iv. Pallavicini, Hist. Concil. Triden. liv. iii. chap. xii.

C H A P.
VIII.

1534—

1537.

Convoca-
tion of the
council of
Trent.

that of his predecessor. Relying on his own ability, to prevent any invasion of the powers claimed by the Roman pontiffs, he instantly dispatched a Nuntio to signify his assent, and to propose the city of Mantua for the place of its meeting. This apparent compliance, which originated in profound dissimulation, did not in fact facilitate, or accelerate the object itself. Impediments insurmountable in their own nature, and of which the papal court was well aware, prevented its execution. Hostilities, preceded by personal animosity and invectives, having already commenced between the Emperor and Francis the First; it might be assumed as unquestionable, that the latter sovereign would not permit the French prelates to attend the assembly. The Duke of Mantua himself, under various pretences, refused to allow his capital to be made the place of its convocation; and Paul, availing himself of this new obstacle, prorogued the council.^y

1537—

1545.

Plans for
the aggran-
dizement
of the fa-
mily of
Farnese.

Occupied only with a passion for aggrandizing the family of Farnese, he exerted every endeavour to induce the Emperor to concur in his design. The nuptials of Margaret, natural daughter of Charles, and widow of Alexander, Duke of Florence, with Octavio Farnese, grandson to the Pope, were celebrated at Rome, with great magnificence; and upon this matrimonial connection, the pontiff founded his ambitious projects. Vicenza, the city, which had

^y Brays, vol. iv. p. 487—498.

been

C H A P.
VIII.

1534—

1537.

been subsequently named for the meeting of the council, having been refused by the Venetians, in whose dominions it was situated; after a delay of several years, Trent, a place belonging to the German empire, tho' near the confines of Italy, was ultimately fixed on for the purpose. But, the war which had recently begun a third time, between Charles and Francis, retarded the commencement of its deliberations. During this interval, Paul, in a personal interview with the Emperor, offered to make every sacrifice, and to pay a considerable annual tribute, in order to obtain the investiture of the duchy of Milan for his grandson. His expostulations, aided by the tears and entreaties of Margaret, proved nevertheless ineffectual to induce that prince to deprive his son Philip and the Spanish monarchy, of an acquisition obtained and defended with so much difficulty. The refusal, while it alienated the pontiff, only augmented and stimulated his anxiety to elevate his house. Despairing of success in his application to the Emperor, he embraced and executed the resolution of dismembering Parma and Placentia from the territories of the church, and bestowing those duchies as a fief, on Peter Louis Farnese, his natural son. An act, in which every principle of justice, as well as all regard to decency, and to the very dominions of the Holy See, were sacrificed to the insatiable ambition of its present possessor, excited complaints in the Sacred College, while it awakened indignation among foreign states.

Alienation
of Parma
and Placentia from the
church.

CHAP. VIII. The notorious vices of the individual in whose favor so glaring a violation of equity was committed, increased the odium annexed to it; and the Lutherans found in the conduct of Paul himself, the strongest reasons for withdrawing themselves from his spiritual authority and jurisdiction². Yet, this petty sovereignty, which originated in the most glaring usurpation, or rather open robbery, continued to subsist in the male descendants of its first possessor, Peter Louis Farnese, for near two hundred years, and only became extinct towards the middle of the eighteenth century.

1545—
1548.
Council of
Trent
opened.

Under these inauspicious circumstances commenced the memorable council of Trent; the last which the Christian church has ventured to assemble. Its deliberations, tho' continued through eight sessions, were productive neither of reformation in the court of Rome, nor of benefit to the general interests of religion. Attentive to the course of all its debates; watchful over every attempt to diminish, or to controul the papal supremacy; fertile in expedients to embarrass and retard its operations or decrees; the Legates who presided as representatives of Paul the Third, remained always masters of the assembly. Yet the apprehension that the Fathers might enter upon the numerous abuses practised in the papal court, operated so strongly as to induce the Pope, under pre-

² Fra Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, liv.ii. p. 118. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 526.

tence of a pestilential distemper having made its appearance in the city, to transfer the assembly to Bologna. Those prelates who were attached to, or dependant on the Holy See, and those only, obeyed the injunction: the Imperial and Spanish faction continued their deliberations at Trent; and after a schism of near two years, during which period both parties remained in a state of inaction, Paul ultimately suspended the further existence of the council, notwithstanding the expostulations and menaces of Charles the Fifth.^a

C H A P.
VIII.

1545—
1548.
Suspension
of its deli-
berations.

The mutual alienation which had taken place between the Emperor and the Pope, became further heightened in consequence of the assassination of Peter Louis, the new Duke of Parma and Placentia. His tyranny and acts of violence, exercised over his new subjects, gave rise to a conspiracy, by which he perished, in his own palace at Placentia. Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, a prince not less profligate and dissolute than Farnese; and at a subsequent period, Alexander of Medicis, Duke of Florence, both perished nearly in the same manner, by domestic treachery or treason. To this expedient against the abuse of supreme power, so common in antient Rome; the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were familiarized by frequent practice, and to it they usually had recourse in all desperate cases. The

Affairs of
Parma.

^a Fra Paolo, liv. ii. Pallavicini, *passim*. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 526—555. Onuphr. Panvin, p. 68—84.

CHAP. Imperial troops having instantly entered the city
 VIII. of Placentia, took possession of it, as the papal
 1545— forces did of Parma; and Octavio Farnese saw
 1548. himself thus despoiled of his inheritance by
 those, from whom he was peculiarly entitled to
 expect assistance and protection^b. An unsuccessful attempt which he made, in order to become master of Parma, which city and territory his grandfather had again united to the patrimony of the church, irritated the diseases that already enfeebled the aged pontiff; and the menaces of Octavio, upon the failure of his enterprize, to throw himself into the arms of the Emperor, precipitated the death of Paul the Third; who expired at the advanced age of eighty-one years. Among all the Popes of this vicious period, he stands pre-eminent in turpitude. His character and government were equally odious. As head of the church, his conduct justly excited the severest animadversion; and he was deficient in every quality calculated to adorn, or to render venerable the chair of St. Peter. What opinion can we form of a pope, who not only made the study of magic and astrology, his favourite research; but, who ventured in contradiction to decency, to compare the Divinity to Saturn, and Jesus Christ to Jupiter^c? Dissimulation, perfidy, rapacity, ambition, and hypocrisy, composed the leading features of his mind; and he was never

1549.
 Death, and
 character
 of Paul the
 Third.

^b De Thou, livre iv. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 544.

^c Bruys, vol. iv. p. 556.

more to be dreaded, than when he assumed the mask of piety and religion. In order to gratify his resentment, or to attain his political objects, he did not scruple to use any engines, however detestable; and his whole pontificate was employed in exertions, at the expence of the most sacred duties of his station, to elevate a son, whose birth and whose enormities were equally a disgrace to his father.^d

The election of the Cardinal del Monté to the papal dignity, who assumed the name of Julius the Third, was little calculated to augment the respect entertained for the person and office of the vicars of Christ. He nevertheless commenced his reign, if not with an act of justice, yet by a measure of liberality; namely the restoration of Parma to Octavio Farnese, in gratitude for the assistance which he had received from the numerous and powerful adherents of that Prince in the Conclave; and he seemed to display more candor in his proceedings, as well as less reluctance to reassemble the council of Trent, than had been manifested by his predecessor. But, these transitory appearances of virtue and decorum, were quickly obliterated by the most scandalous weaknesses and excesses. Averse to every exertion which his station demanded, he abandoned himself to indolence, pleasure, and sensuality, at his Villa, in the vicinity of Rome. The petulance of his

C H A P.
VIII.1545—
1548.1549,
1550.
Election of
Julius the
Third.His cha-
racter.

^d Onuphr. Panvin. p. 84, 85. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 545, 546, and p. 555—557. Ciaconius, vol. iii. p. 537. Pallavicini, liv. iii. Fra Paolo. *Traité des Benefices*, p. 335.

C H A P. temper betrayed him into continual violations
 VIII. of decency; and he dishonored the college of
 Cardinals, by immediately associating to their
 1549, body, a young man named Innocent, who was
 1550. not only of obscure extraction, and destitute
 of personal merit; but, on whom obloquy cast
 the strongest insinuations. Even though we
 should admit the injustice of such imputations,
 by supposing, as has been asserted, that he was
 the natural son of Julius; yet his age, which did
 not exceed seventeen years, and his notorious
 vices, constituted alone sufficient reasons for ex-
 cluding him from so eminent an ecclesiastical
 dignity. He soon became, under the new pon-
 tificate, the channel of preferment, and the
 avowed first minister, notwithstanding the Pas-
 quinades and aspersions with which he was pur-
 sued by the inhabitants of Rome.*

1550—
 1555.
 Resump-
 tion of the
 council of
 Trent.

The council of Trent, convoked anew by
 Julius, began meanwhile its deliberations, which
 had been interrupted by Paul the Third: while
 Charles the Fifth, become irresistible thro'out
 the German empire since the defeat of the
 Smalcaldic league, and the victory obtained
 over the Protestants at Muhlberg, already anti-
 cipated the re-union of the Lutherans to the
 Catholic church. The ambassadors of Maurice,
 Elector of Saxony, who had become the head
 of that association, having arrived at Trent,
 prepared ostensibly to enter upon their func-
 tions, conjointly with the delegates of the other

* Fra Paolo, liv. iii. p. 281. Pallavicini, liv. ii. chap. vii.

Protestant princes. Henry the Second, King of France, who was then engaged in war with the Emperor, protested notwithstanding against every act or proceeding of the council. But, a more formidable opponent soon appeared in the person of Maurice himself, who having thrown off the mask, advanced at the head of a powerful army which he led against Charles, compelled the fathers to abandon Trent with precipitation, and reduced them to suspend their further proceedings. The council thus dispersed, remained in oblivion during several years: and Julius, not only impressed with the apprehensions common to his predecessors; but, from his natural indolence incapable of exerting any vigor, or of directing with facility its operations; saw himself relieved by the interposition of the Protestants themselves, from so formidable an engine.^f

C H A P.
VIII.

1550—

1555.

The remainder of his pontificate was employed in fruitless efforts to terminate the hostilities subsisting between the Emperor and France; but, it was distinguished by the temporary restoration of England to its dependence on the see of Rome, during the short reign of Mary, daughter to Henry the Eighth. Notwithstanding the impetuosity of Julius's temper, which continually manifested itself, and which induced him to lament that he had not lived in a century, when the papal power

Submission
of England
to the
papal see.

^f Fra Paolo, liv. iv. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 577—579, and p. 581—583.

and

C H A P.
VIII.

1550—
1555.

Death of
Julius.

and pretensions were uncontrouled; he manifested great sensibility at so unexpected a piece of good fortune: observing, not without some humor, that “he was undoubtedly happy, since “he received expressions of homage from a “Queen and a nation, towards whom he was “rather bound to offer acknowledgments.” With this gratifying event was closed his life and reign. The disease of which he died, was believed to have been caused by his preceding excesses; and so little restraint did he impose on his appetites, that even the physicians found it difficult to moderate their violence. Destitute of eminent talents or virtues, his contempt of religion, and profligacy of manners, rendered him odious: while the instances of his impiety, transmitted to us by the most impartial historians, awaken horror and indignation, when we consider him in his capacity of head of the church.^s

1555.
Pontificate
of Paul the
Fourth.

The short pontificate of his successor, Marcellus the Second, only served to excite universal regret; as his desire of reformation, disinterestedness, and purity of manners, had justly given birth to the highest expectations from his future government^t. But the chair of St. Peter, during almost the whole course of the sixteenth century, seemed to be abandoned to crimes or vices of every kind. Marcellus survived his elevation scarcely three weeks; and the cala-

^s Bruys, vol. iv. p. 589, 590, and p. 597—599. Onuhr. Panvin. p. 85—98.

^t Bruys, vol. iv p. 603—606. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 105, 106.

mity of his loss was more severely felt, from the opposite character of Paul the Fourth, who was chosen to fill the vacant see. John Peter Caraffa had attained to the advanced age of seventy-nine years, when, by the intrigues of the French faction in the Conclave, he was placed in the papal chair. Previous to this event, he had obtained the reputation of severity, sanctity, and austerity. Rome received with terror the intelligence of his election, and dreaded the rigor of his inquisitorial characterⁱ. But, the qualities of the Cardinal, were not to be recognized in the pontiff; and all the humility which he had before assumed, was succeeded by the most disgusting arrogance. Every pretension which the popes of the thirteenth century had ventured to advance; the obsolete and insolent claims of unlimited power over kings and nations, which Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, had attempted to establish in ages of ignorance, were renewed by Paul. The contempt of grandeur, and desire of retirement which he had affected, when he refused the Bishoprick of Brindisi, under Clement the Seventh, were transformed into pomp and magnificence: while, governed by his two nephews, he already listened to the most extravagant projects, for the future aggrandizement of the house of Caraffa. Such was the impotence of his passions, and their indecent violence, that, unrestrained by the

C H A P.
VIII.

1555.

His character.

ⁱ Histoire des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 130—139.

C H A P. decorum of his high station and decrepid age,
 VIII. he gave the reins to all his resentments. We
 1555. can scarcely believe that he could so far forget himself, as within a few weeks after his election, to strike the lieutenant of Rome, and to take by the beard, the envoy of the Republic of Ragusa. Even to the English ambassadors, who were sent to offer the submissions of their sovereign, he manifested the utmost indignation at Mary's assumption of the title of *Queen of Ireland*, without having previously obtained his permission; and he peremptorily demanded the instant restitution of all the ecclesiastical property, confiscated or alienated by Henry the Eighth.^k

1555—
 1557.
 His detestation of
 the house
 of Austria.

War with
 Philip the
 Second.

Towards Charles the Fifth, and his son Philip the Second, Paul's animosity observed no limits. Incensed at the degree of toleration granted by the former of those princes to the Protestants, in the diet of Augsburg; and, inflamed with the ambition of conquering the kingdom of Naples, to the sovereignty of which country the Holy See had always made pretensions; he trampled upon all the duties of his office, which dictated the preservation of tranquillity among the monarchs of Europe. With a view to rekindle the flames of war, which had been recently suspended by the truce of Vaucelles made between France and Spain, he dispatched Cardinal Caraffa to Henry the Second; and succeeded in prevailing on that prince, by

^k Bruys, vol. iv. p. 613—615. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 106—109.

profuse assurances of assistance, not only to CHAP. VIII.
 violate his late engagements, but, to march an
 army into Italy, under the command of Francis, 1555—
 Duke of Guise, for the attack of the Neapoli- 1557.
 tan dominions. An alliance, founded in such
 manifest injustice, and cemented by perfidy,
 was accompanied with the ill success which it
 merited. Philip the Second, to whom his father
 had already resigned the kingdom of Naples,
 took early and wise precautions for its preserva-
 tion. Informed of the hostile projects of the
 pontiff, and his French allies, he sent thither
 Ferdinand de Toledo, Duke of Alva, at the
 head of a powerful body of forces. That com-
 mander not only compelled the Duke of Guise
 to abandon his attempt; but, he advanced into
 the territories of the church, approached Rome
 itself, and seemed to menace Paul the Fourth
 with a repetition of the calamities, inflicted by
 the Constable of Bourbon, upon Clement the
 Seventh. The victory which was gained by
 Philip, over his enemies, at the memorable
 battle of St. Quintin, completed the humiliation
 of Henry, who instantly recalled his general
 and troops, in order to defend the French mo-
 narchy, which appeared to be in some danger
 of subversion. The Pope, abandoned by his
 ally, destitute of resources, and summoned by
 the Spaniards to accept the terms offered by
 the moderation of Philip, reluctantly submitted:
 while the Duke of Alva, after having prostrated
 himself at the feet of the pontiff whom he had
 vanquished, in order to obtain pardon and ab-
 solution

Peace con-
 cluded.

C H A P. solution for the crime which he had committed in attacking the patrimony of St. Peter, conducted his forces in triumph back to Naples.¹

VIII.

1557—

1559.

Conclusion
of the
reign of
Paul the
Fourth.

Conscious of the disgrace which his late conduct had entailed upon himself, and upon the see of Rome, Paul attempted to regain his reputation by an act of severity, in banishing his nephews the Caraffas, who had principally incited him to take up arms. But, this mark of contrition, which appeared to indicate a mind capable of repairing its errors, was speedily followed by new outrages upon reason and moderation. Elizabeth, who had succeeded to her sister Mary, as Queen of England, and who professed the Protestant religion, became a natural object of his frantic and impotent resentment. Even the Emperor, Ferdinand the First, though attached by the warmest inclination to the Roman Catholic faith, underwent every indignity which the unrestrained fury of Paul could inflict, for having presumed to accept and to exercise the functions of the imperial dignity, without obtaining his previous approbation. As he approached the grave, his passions, instead of diminishing in violence, acquired force and asperity. He caused all books, suspected of containing heretical doctrines, to be collected and burnt; issued a catalogue, in the name of the Inquisition, of such works as

¹ Mezerai. *Abregé Chronol. de l'Hist. de France*, vol. iv. p. 377—389. Fra Paolo, *liv. v.* p. 377—380, and p. 383—389. Pallavicini, *Hist. Con. Trid.* Bruys, vol. xiv. p. 615—629. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 109, 110.

were

were prohibited to be read or printed; and as far as he was able, in virtue of his assumed apostolic authority, seemed only desirous of plunging Europe again into the state of ignorance and barbarism, from which it was still imperfectly rescued. His dying exhortations to the Cardinals who surrounded him were, to maintain the tribunal of the Inquisition, and to augment its force. So detestable were both his government and his memory to the people of Rome, that they no sooner received the intelligence of his having expired, than they immediately assembled; burst the doors of the holy office; liberated the prisoners; and were with difficulty restrained from involving the inquisitors themselves in the flames, which consumed the edifice appropriated to their functions.^m

The turbulent pontificate of Paul the Fourth, was succeeded by a calm. After many struggles, the Spanish party in the Conclave, elevated to the supreme dignity of the church, the Cardinal Medequino, known in history by the name of Pius the Fourth. Having led a very retired life during his predecessor's reign, he ascended the chair of St. Peter, with the character of a mild, humane, and virtuous man. The first acts of his government, which appeared to confirm this opinion, obtained him the applause of clemency and liberality: but,

CHAP.
VIII.

1557—
1559.

1559,
1560.
Election of
Pius the
Fourth.

His cha-
racter.

^m Bruys, vol. iv. p. 631—637. Fra Paolo, liv. viii. p. 394, and p. 398. Onuphr. Panyin. p. 112—115.

C H A P.

VIII.

1559,

1560.

Punish-
ment of
the Caraf-
fas.

his manners and conduct seemed to be speedily changed by his attainment of power; and the vices or infirmities, which had lain concealed in the shade of a private station, became conspicuous on the throne. The papal court was speedily crowded with his relations, who came from various parts of Italy, to satisfy their avidity; and his treatment of the two Caraffas, nephews to the late Pope, appeared to originate, not so much in a detestation of their enormities, as in the desire of the new pontiff to enrich his own family with their spoils. Pius the Fourth had been principally indebted for his election, to these very men, the Duke of Palliano, and the Cardinal Caraffa; to the latter of whom, after that event, Pius had publicly renewed his assurances of friendship, gratitude, and protection. Demonstrations of amity, apparently so sincere, left them no room to apprehend the intentions of the Pope; who, induced by the private entreaties of Philip the Second, against whom the Caraffas had, during their uncle's pontificate, betrayed the strongest animosity, commanded them both to be arrested. Their crimes, as ministers, and as individuals, were not only manifest and incontrovertible; but, were of the most flagitious nature. The Duke had murdered his wife, and a person falsely accused of criminal intimacy with her, in a manner the most inhuman. Even the pregnancy of the Duchess could not mollify her husband, or prolong her life. He, and the Cardinal his brother, in the gratification of their passions

or,

or enmities, like Cæsar Borgia, had trampled on all laws, and committed numberless outrages. They were condemned to die, by sentence of the commission named for their trial; and the Duke of Palliano expiated his atrocities, by a public and ignominious execution. His brother, from regard to his ecclesiastical profession, and his dignity as a member of the sacred college, was strangled privately in the castle of St. Angelo, notwithstanding the strongest intercessions made in his favor. The dead bodies were exposed by torch light, to the view of the populace; who, in the consideration of the ingratitude and treachery, which marked the conduct of the Pope in their punishment, forgot the crimes for which the Caraffas sufferedⁿ. Such enormities were besides so common thro'out all the states of Italy, and were usually attended with so much impunity among the upper orders of society, as to have lost in a great measure their effect on the inferior classes of the people.

This sanguinary scene was the only exhibition of that nature which Rome witnessed during the reign of Pius. More yielding than his predecessor, he immediately acknowledged Ferdinand the First as Emperor; and after many delays, accompanied by long irresolution, he at length consented to re-assemble the council of Trent, which had been suspended during eight years. The assembly was opened with great solemnity, and its deliberations were con-

C H A P.
VIII.

1559—
1563.

1560—
1565.
Council of
Trent re-
newed.

ⁿ Onuphr. Panvin. p. 115—121. Bruys. vol. iv. p. 637—641. Hist. des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 142—150.

C H A P.

VIII.

1560—

1565.

It is finally
dissolved.Vices of
Pius.

tinued through several sessions; but, without being productive of any beneficial purpose, or salutary effect. The decrees enacted and promulgated, were not adopted in France, as far as they respected ecclesiastical discipline; and even in Spain, Philip the Second, bigotted as he was, yet received and admitted them with many modulations. If they had been permitted to operate in their full force, they must indeed have subverted every civil liberty of the state, and every prerogative of the crown; both of which were alike subjected to the uncontrollable authority of the papal see. The Protestants of all descriptions, regarded the assembly as only a venal and dependent engine, conducted by the legates, and calculated to perpetuate the abuses of the church of Rome. Pius profited notwithstanding, of the first favourable occasion to accelerate its dissolution, and thereby to emancipate himself from the terror which so formidable a body always inspired°. Liberated from this source of apprehension, which had hitherto imposed some restraint upon his conduct, he abandoned himself to the impulse of his natural character. Rapacity, violence, and avarice, became the predominant features of his government; while sensuality, indolence, and neglect of public business, all which characterised his private life, rendered him contemptible. From his abject dependance on the court of Madrid,

• Bruys, vol. iv. p. 651—669. Fra Paolo, liv. vi. and liv. vii. and liv. viii.

he was ever disposed to gratify the most unjust, ^{C H A P. VIII.} or criminal requests of Philip the Second; and his indulgence towards the members of his own ^{1560—1565.} family, was frequently unrestrained by any considerations of justice, or even of decency. From those enormous crimes, or violations of right, which excite our abhorrence in many of his predecessors, it must however be admitted that he was exempt; and Rome enjoyed a profound repose during his pontificate, unaccompanied by any calamities. Pius, who was neither deficient in talents, nor in love of the arts, and who wished to be thought to derive his origin from the house of Medicis; embellished the capital, extended his protection to men of letters, and took very able measures for securing general plenty and abundance thro'out the Roman territory. His excesses at the table, in ^{His death,} which he had always indulged himself, proved the immediate cause of his death, after a reign of little more than six years. ^P

Michael Ghisleri, a Dominican monk who ^{1565. Pius the Fifth.} had long exercised the functions of Inquisitor-general, was raised to the papal see on the demise of Pius, principally by the faction of Cardinal Borromeo, nephew to the deceased Pope; and he assumed the name of Pius the Fifth. If the most implacable and sanguinary zeal against heresy, joined to purity of manners, and an austere devotion, could constitute

^P Onuphr. Panvin. p. 123—129. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 677, 678, and p. 683, 684.

C H A P.
VIII.

1565.
His cha-
racter.

Measures.

a venerable or amiable character, the new pontiff would be entitled to that eulogium. Animated with the desire of extirpating the enemies of the Catholic faith, he breathed throughout his whole life, the inquisitorial spirit of his original profession; and far from bringing to the apostolic see, the mild and placable genius of Christianity, he substituted in its place, the rigours of persecution. We must, however, exert some indulgence for the modes of thinking, as well as for the superstitious prejudices of a century, when liberality and enlargement of mind in matters of religion, were almost unknown; when the fervors of theological animosity and controversy, subsisted in all their force; and when, in every kingdom of Europe, fires and massacres were deemed the most legitimate means for suppressing doctrines, regarded as heretical. Pius the Fifth, in a more tolerant or enlightened age, might have merited the applause of mankind, by his piety and virtues. He possessed an elevation of sentiment, which impelled him to acts of public benefit, or glory; an unshaken constancy of mind, and a disinterestedness of character the most unsullied. But, on the other hand, he was unacquainted with all the arts of reigning; inflexible, severe, contracted, and imbued with the vindictive spirit of the order of St. Dominick. The vices of the cloyster, which accompanied him on the papal throne, sullied his administration with cruelty; nor can we regard many of his acts without indignation and abhorrence, on which
his

his contemporaries passed a very opposite sentence.^a CHAP.
VIII.

To his advice and exhortations, may in some measure be attributed the calamities, which desolated the fairest countries of Europe, during his pontificate. The relentless and bigotted temper of Philip the Second, naturally prone to severity, was inflamed to inexorable vengeance against his Flemish subjects, by the suggestions of a pontiff, whose sanctity gave to his entreaties an irresistible force. Charles the Ninth, King of France, was encouraged to persist in a manifest violation of every sacred engagement contracted with the Hugonots, and finally to sacrifice them to his resentment, by the approbation of the Holy See. The Count de St. Fiore, dispatched by the Pope, and having under his orders a considerable body of Italian infantry and cavalry, fought as an auxiliary, at the battle of Moncontour, and contributed to that victory gained over Coligni. Pius not only excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, in virtue of his apostolic power; but he aided her rival, Mary, Queen of Scots, by money, arms, and essential succours, to enable her to ascend the throne of England. Perhaps, in candour we ought not to omit, that when that unfortunate princess became a prisoner, Pius continued to console and strengthen her, by spiritual comfort, by his letters and prayers. To

1565—
1571.
Bigotry.

^a Bruys, vol. v. p. 1—5. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 129—131.

the

C H A P. the Emperor Maximilian the Second, engaged
 VIII. in hostilities against the Turks in Hungary, he
 1565— sent a supply of sixty thousand crowns; and
 1571. promised to furnish him with nearly as considerable
 a sum annually, during the continuance of the war. The knights of Malta, who had been attacked by Solyman, and had suffered greatly in their revenues by the Ottoman arms or devastations, found a liberal support in his
 Policy. charitable munificence. But, the circumstance which has above all others, contributed to immortalize his reign, and to cover him with a degree of personal glory, was the victory of Lepanto, gained over the fleet of Selim the Second, by the confederated powers, Spain, Venice, and the Pope. The league which was formed by those states to check the alarming progress of the Turkish conquests, may be in a great degree ascribed to the unwearied efforts of Pius; and his gallies, commanded by Mark Antony Colonna, bore no mean share in the honour of that celebrated day. If so decisive an advantage was not improved, we must blame the jealousy and coldness of Philip the Second, who regarding with indifference the Venetian interests, thereby compelled the Republic to withdraw from an alliance, which only tended to aggravate their disgraces. The antient triumphs of the Roman Consuls and generals, were renewed in the person of Colonna, who made a public entry into the capital of the papal dominions, followed by the Insignia of his victory, and the Turkish captives in his train. Even his augmenting

menting infirmities, and the attacks of disease, did not diminish the vigor of Pius, or prevent him from endeavouring to renew the war against Selim; an object which actuated him to the last period of life, with unabated solicitude. A slow fever terminated his reign, at the age of sixty-eight years. ^r

C H A P.
VIII.

1565—
1571.

Death of
Pius.

In considering his character, we are divided between admiration and detestation. Unlike his predecessors, he neither enriched, nor aggrandized his nephews; and he was so far from encouraging licentiousness, either by his permission or example, that he banished every incitement to vice, from his palace and presence. The Cardinals dreaded so austere a pontiff; and the people, irritated at the severities of the Inquisition, rejoiced that he was no more; though their opinion of his sanctity was such, that they crowded to touch his body, and to make relics of his garments. None of the successors of St. Peter, ever attempted to carry the exorbitant pretensions of the papacy to a more intolerable height, or to annihilate more completely all the rights of sovereigns and nations. But, we can still less forgive him for his furious zeal, which stimulated him to foment rebellion and massacres abroad; while he gave to his own subjects, the spectacle of unhappy wretches consigned to the flames, for their religious opinions. Carnesecchi, and Palearius, two of the

Reflexions
on the
spirit of his
govern-
ment.

^r Onuphr. Panvin. p. 132—141. Bruys, vol. v. p. 7—21. Strada. de Bello Belgico. vol. ii. book vii. p. 161, 162.

C H A P. VIII. most eminent men of letters whom Italy had produced in the sixteenth century, and of irreproachable lives, were pursued beyond the limits of the papal territory, brought to Rome, and burnt by the tribunal of the Inquisition; nor were these the only victims to barbarity and fanaticism, offered up during his pontificate.^s

1571—

1574.

Gregory
the Thirteenth.

The Cardinal Buon Compagno, known by the name of Gregory the Thirteenth, succeeded to the papal chair, at seventy years of age; and from the moderation of his character, as well as the rectitude of his intentions, excited expectations of a mild and gentle reign, exempt from the severities of his predecessor. On receiving intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew committed at Paris, he sullied nevertheless the office of head of the church, by public demonstrations of joy and approbation: but we may fairly question, whether these exhibitions did not result more from policy and necessity, than from inclination or conviction; and many circumstances conduce to strengthen that opinion^t. Equally desirous to continue the war against the Turks, as Pius the Fifth had been, he strenuously exhorted Philip the Second to equip a fleet, and to act with vigor against the common enemy: but the spirit which had sustained the league, was become extinct; and Gregory, whatever indignation he might feel at the measures of the Venetians, who had concluded

^s Bruys, vol. v. p. 21.

^t Ibid. p. 25, 26. Gregorio Leti, Vie de Sixte V. liv. iv. p. 175.

a peace

a peace with Selim, was obliged to acquiesce in the reasons assigned for their conduct. Being thus prevented from exerting his efforts against the infidels, he lent his aid to the King of Spain, towards subjecting the Flemings; and manifested similar promptitude in assisting the King of France, to reduce his revolted subjects of the reformed religion. Nor was he deficient in his attention to domestic regulations of public benefit or importance. The embellishment of Rome, as well as the construction of granaries and fountains, occupied his cares; and these salutary or magnificent decorations, were even extended to other places in the ecclesiastical dominions. ^u

C H A P.
VIII.

1571—

1574.
His admini-
stration.

It may be regarded as equally curious and instructive, briefly to review the state of the temporal and spiritual power of the papacy at this period; though unfortunately, on many interesting particulars, the sources from whence information is to be drawn, are neither clear, nor ample. To Alexander the Sixth, the most flagitious pontiff who ever disgraced the chair of St. Peter, it is well known that are due almost all the territorial possessions of the bishops of Rome. Previous to his reign, their authority and government extended very little beyond the city in which they resided. Julius the Second, availing himself of his predecessor's profligate rapacity, in order to enrich the church, annexed to the apostolic see, the numerous petty

1574.
State of
the papal
power, at
this pe-
riod.

Temporal
authority,
and domi-
nions.

^u Bruys, vol. v. p. 27, 28.

states

C H A P. states and towns, acquired by the crimes of
 VIII. Cæsar Borgia; and to these robberies he added
 1574. Bologna, from whence he expelled the reigning
 family of Bentivoglio^x. During the progress
 of that combination of the great powers of Eu-
 rope against the Venetians, known in history
 by the name of “the league of Cambray,” at the
 beginning of the sixteenth century; the city of
 Ravenna, and several inferior places situate in
 the Romagna, were likewise conquered by that
 martial pontiff, who united them to the patri-
 mony of St. Peter^y. Under Leo the Tenth,
 the town and territory of Perugia, from which
 the house of Baglioné was driven, encreased
 these acquisitions; and they were still further
 augmented in 1521, by the capture of Parma
 and Placentia^z. But Paul the Third, bent on ag-
 grandizing his natural son, even at the expence
 of the pontificate itself, again detached those
 last-mentioned duchies from it; conferring them
 as a male fief, on Peter Louis Farnese, subject to
 an annual tribute of eight thousand crowns.
 This investiture was however made without the
 consent of a considerable part of the Sacred
 College, who protested against the alienation.^a

Territory. The patrimony of the church in 1574, con-
 sisted of the same territories which still re-
 mained subject to it towards the close of the
 eighteenth century, previous to the irruption
 of the French into Italy under Bonaparte,
 and its total subversion which followed; with

^x Guicciardini, liv. vi. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 330.

^y Bruys, vol. iv. p. 335.

^z Oauphr. Panvin. p. 48.

^a Fra Paolo, liv. ii. p. 118.

the two exceptions of Urbino and Ferrara. The former of these small states, situated between the provinces of Romagna and Umbria, near the shore of the Adriatic, was then governed by the family of Roverè; and did not become united to the see of Rome till the year 1631, on the death of Francis Maria, the last Duke of Urbino, without male issue^b. The city and territory of Ferrara, long in the possession of the great house of Esté, was seized on by Pope Clement the Eighth in 1597, under pretence of the illegitimacy of Cæsar, son to Duke Alfonso the Second^c. The population of the papal dominions, bore however no proportion to their extent and fertility. The "Campagna di Roma," extending almost from the gates of the capital, to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, presented a scene of desolation, which was rendered still more striking by the infectious nature of the air; and even in the best inhabited provinces, the number of people was inconsiderable. Rome itself presented to view a melancholy and deserted city. Under the prosperous pontificate of Leo the Tenth, which lasted only eight years, it had encreased in its inhabitants very rapidly; but, after the memorable pillage committed by the forces of Charles the Fifth in 1527, to so miserable a state was the antient capital of the world reduced, that they reckoned within its whole circumference, only about thirty-two thousand souls, exclusive of eight thousand Jews.^d

CHAP.
VIII.

1574.

Popula-
tion.

^b L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 765.

^c Bruys, vol. v. p. 120, 121.

^d Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. x. p. 401.

C H A P.

VIII.

1574.

Severe po-
lice, and
regula-
tions of
Pius the
Fifth.

Under the succeeding reigns, Rome gradually recovered her former population; but the severe edicts, and persecuting spirit of Pius the Fifth, would have again rendered it a vast solitude, if he had continued long to occupy the chair of St. Peter. He not only pursued with rigour, every person suspected of heresy; but he attempted to banish from the city, all women of bad life, or of corrupt manners. The late Empress Queen of Hungary, Maria Theresa, a Princess of an elevated mind, and endowed with many eminent virtues, but like Pius the Fifth, narrow and severe upon every point connected with female frailty; undertook in our own time to carry into execution at Vienna, a nearly similar measure. She even caused numbers of those unfortunate women to be transported down the river Danube, to the extremity of her Hungarian dominions. But, her rigour on this article, was not productive of any real amelioration of morals in the Austrian capital, tho' it compelled her subjects to greater caution and secresy in the prosecution of their pleasures. At the secret instigation of the Roman clergy, who did not dare to take upon themselves the avowed protection of a class of females, consecrated to public debauch; the civil magistrates attempted to remonstrate with Pius, and to convince him that by so unwise a proscription, he would augment, instead of repressing immorality; besides the obvious danger of substituting vices infinitely more detestable, in the place of

of those which he meant to eradicate^e. But, a C H A P.
VIII.
1574.
bigotted Dominican monk was incapable of listening to such enlarged and moderate advice.

He commanded all women convicted of prostitution, or exercising that profession, to be confined in one place, without the liberty of appearing by day, or by night, except within the limits prescribed; and upon a repetition of the remonstrances, he menaced the Senate to quit Rome, and to transfer his court and residence elsewhere, if his orders were not immediately obeyed^f. Prohibitions so rigorous, were certainly not calculated to attract foreigners to the capital: yet such was the ardent enthusiasm of the Catholics to gain indulgencies, and such the veneration in which the pontifical office was still held thro'out Europe, that in 1574, on Christmas Eve, when Gregory the Thirteenth opened the year of Jubilee, by striking the gate Jubilees. of St. Peter's church with the golden mallet, above three hundred thousand pilgrims and strangers were already assembled to view the ceremony; unquestionably one of the most sublime and imposing which has been ever exhibited in any age of the world, to the multitude, as well as the most calculated to overwhelm the faculty of reason. During the whole of the ensuing year, the pilgrims never fell below ninety thousand; and the prodigious influx of money resulting from these crowds of devotees,

^e Onuphr. Panvin. p. 139.

^f Bruys, vol. v. p. 7.

CHAP. may be easily conjectured[§]. The apostolic
 VIII. treasury, as well as the inhabitants of Rome,
 1574. derived prodigious benefits from their residence
 and liberality.

Adminis-
 tration.

No European country or state, in the sixteenth century, was so ill-administered or so severely plundered, as the ecclesiastical territories. A succession of profligate, ambitious, or bigotted priests, who usually ascended the throne at a late period of life, were little calculated or disposed to attend to the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. We may perhaps justly question whether any of the Roman Cæsars, so renowned in the annals of crime, exceeded Alexander the Sixth in atrocity. Between Pius the Second, (Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini,) and Pius the Fifth, (Ghisleri,) a space of above one hundred years; if we except the short pontificate of Adrian the Sixth, comprehending hardly twenty months; there was not one of the popes who could pretend to common morality. Marcellus the Second was only elected, and shewn to the world, like the "Marcellus" of Virgil, to be immediately snatched away by death. Nor did ancient Rome ever witness so long a succession of tyrants, or gluttons, or voluptuaries, seated on the Imperial throne, without intervals of considerable duration taking place, as filled the chair of St. Peter between 1464 and 1565. Between the death of Augustus, and the accession of Vespasian, when Tiberius, and Caligula, and

[§] Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 369.

Nero governed the Roman world, little more than the space of half a century elapsed. What must have been the state of the human mind thro'out Europe, when indulgencies could be sought after with avidity, and purchased from the polluted hands of a Borgia, a Farnese, or a del Monté! Even the "golden days" of Leo the Tenth, so celebrated by poets and historians, were passed by that pontiff amidst gratifications the most relaxed, in a society of men of genius, such as met in the last century at Sans Souci, with the great Frederic at their head. How wonderful is the contrast which the successor of St. Peter presents to the present age, deposed, imprisoned, expatriated, reduced to poverty, transferred from one prison to another, abandoned by every European power, and holding his life by the precarious tenure of a ruthless tyrant, who may order him to be privately extinguished at any moment!

During the period of time under our examination, famine continually visited the city and dominions of Rome, from the neglect of cultivation, and discouragement of industry. Taxes the most cruel and oppressive were levied on the people. The necessaries of life were loaded with them; and we can scarcely believe that under Paul the Fourth, in 1557, the Caraffas, his nephews, not only imposed a duty upon every loaf of bread baked in the public ovens; but they issued an order, compelling all persons without distinction, to carry their bread to the bakers, licensed for that purposeⁿ. Pius

ⁿ Galluzzi, Hist. de Toscane, vol. ii. p. 416.

C H A P.

VIII.

1574.

Trade.

Revenues,
and impositions.

the Fourth taxed corn, meat, and every kind of merchandize, in so severe a manner, as to excite the maledictions of the inhabitants of Romeⁱ. Almost every article of convenience or luxury, was bought of foreigners. Though the geographical situation of the patrimony of the church, in the center of Italy and of the Mediterranean, extending from the Tuscan, to the Adriatic sea, and possessing ports on each coast capable of receiving vessels, seemed to invite trade; yet scarcely any traffic was carried on, either from Civita Vecchia, or from Ancona. The papal exchequer was nevertheless continually replenished, and the pontifical revenues were very ample. All Europe contributed, before the reign of Leo the Tenth, to enrich the Romish see; and even after the Reformation had so considerably diminished the exactions of the pontiffs, the modes of levying, or obtaining supplies from the Catholic states and clergy, still remained numerous and productive. Annates, tenths, and offerings, under various names or pretexts, levied in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the German empire, filled the pontifical treasury. The council of Trent, while on one hand they maintained and declared the validity of indulgencies, had on the other, prohibited the sale of them; but that scandalous and disgraceful traffic did not the less subsist, after the assembly had been dissolved.^k

ⁱ Onuphr. Panvin. p. 125. ^k Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. x. p. 184.

These

These abundant sources of wealth, internal and external, enabled the popes, however declining in their authority, and circumscribed in their spiritual jurisdiction, to levy, and to maintain, very numerous bodies of forces. Julius the Second, and Leo the Tenth, had attempted to hold the political balance of Italy; and tho' they proved unequal to the enterprize, and sunk under the weight of France and Spain, yet they atchieved considerable conquests, and were respectable as military powers. The irresolution and fluctuation of Clement the Seventh, involved himself and his capital in ruin. The pillage of Rome in 1527, is said to have amounted in value to fifteen millions of crowns¹. Yet such were the resources of the pontificate, that Paul the Third within nineteen years afterwards, in 1546, engaged to furnish Charles the Fifth with twelve thousand infantry, and five hundred horse, besides two hundred thousand crowns, in order to enable that monarch to humble the Protestant princes^m. In the year 1562, Pius the Fourth levied four thousand Switzers, three thousand German cavalry, and sent a body of troops to Avignon, to defend the city and its dependencies, against the Hugonots. Besides these expensive armaments, he advanced a considerable sum to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, with which that prince found means to occupy the passages of the Alps, and to prevent any invasion of Italy, from the

C H A P.
VIII.
1574.
Military
forces.

¹ Voltaire, vol. ix. p. 435, 436.

^m Sleidan, liv. xvii.

CHAP. VIII. French insurgents^a. His successor Pius the Fifth, exerted still greater efforts, pecuniary and military. He dispatched four thousand, 1574. four hundred foot, and nine hundred cavalry, to the aid of France, engaged in war against Louis, Prince of Condé, and the Admiral Coligni^o. The Emperor Maximilian the Second, received repeated supplies of money from him, when attacked by Solyman; and his proportion of the armament, which vanquished the Turkish fleet at Lepanto in 1571, amounted to twelve gallies, three thousand infantry, and two hundred and seventy cavalry^p. Pius not possessing any naval force, was compelled to have recourse to Cosmo, Great Duke of Tuscany, who furnished the gallies; of which six were defrayed by himself; and for the remaining six, the apostolic chamber paid, at the rate of seven hundred and fifty Ducats of gold each, a month^q. Gallies. Notwithstanding so many expensive undertakings, such were the revenues of the papacy, in the hands of a frugal pontiff, that a sum amounting to above a million and a half of crowns, was found in his coffers after his decease^r. Treasures. When we consider these facts, we shall be forced to acknowledge that neither the assaults of Luther, nor the declamations of Calvin, had been able in the course of more than half a century, to do more than lop the redundant branches of that tree, which had for

^a Fra Paolo, liv. vi. p. 499.^o Onuphr. Panvin. p. 132.^p Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 365. ^q Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 266.^r Onuphr. Panvin. p. 139.

many ages covered Europe with its deadly shade. CHAP.
VIII.

Rome, during the sixteenth century, abounded in the most eminent artists. The construction of the church of St. Peter, continued through ten successive pontificates, employed the greatest architects and painters. Raphael, who fell a victim to intemperate pleasures in the prime of life, adorned the reign of Leo the Tenth. Michael Angelo Buonaroti expired in that capital in 1564, at the advanced age of ninety, and in the enjoyment of honors almost above humanity. The attribute of "Divine" was conferred on him by his countrymen; and the admiration entertained for his talents, approached to idolatry^s. With the exception of Adrian the Sixth, and Pius the Fifth, all the popes of the sixteenth century were lovers of the fine arts. Paul the Third, and his grandson, Cardinal Farnese, made superb collections of antique statues, gems, paintings, and medals^t. Julius the Third passed almost his whole time, at his Villa and voluptuous gardens near Rome, which he adorned with profuse magnificence. He was even exceeded in this passion, by Pius the Fourth, who converted it into a nobler channel, that of public ornament and embellishment. Rome, which had begun to revive out of its ruins under Leo's reign, gradually assumed a more elegant appearance^u. The Tiber, always subject to sudden inunda-

1574.
State of the
fine arts.

Encouragement
of them by
the popes.

Condition
of Rome.

^s Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 436—444.

^t Ibid. p. 451.

^u Onuphr. Panvin. p. 124.

CHAP. tions, as we know from classic authority, had
 VIII. caused great damage in 1530, under the reign
 1574. of Clement the Seventh. But, in that of Paul
 the Fourth, its ravages proved far more destructive. The streets, in many quarters of the city, were completely covered with water during two days; and it rose to the height of the square of the Pantheon. In order to prevent the renewal of so dreadful a calamity, Pius the Fourth constructed dykes, which repressed the current of the stream.^x

Want of
 police.

Establish-
 ment of the
 Inquisition.

It was not till the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth, that the streets began to be generally paved^y; and coaches were not then in use, except among the Cardinals. They had been first introduced into Rome, by the Marchioness of Mantua, under Pius the Fourth, about 1562^z. That city, and the papal dominions in general, were extremely deficient in police. The dagger and Stiletto, which long remained in use, rendered the streets or roads equally unsafe. It was reserved for the energy of Sixtus the Fifth to eradicate this practice, and to render travelling less hazardous^a. The Inquisition had become a most detestable scourge, under the pontificate of Paul the Fourth. At his death, about seventy persons, accused of heresy, were found in the prisons of that tribunal, and liberated by the people^b. His successor Pius the Fourth, relaxed

^x Onuphr. Panvin. p. 111. ^y Ibid. p. 145. ^z Ibid. p. 129.

^a Voltaire, vol. x. p. 381. Bruys, vol. v. p. 39, 40.

^b Onuphr. Panvin. p. 114.

its rigor ; but it revived in all its force, when Ghisleri, who had been Inquisitor-general, ascended the papal throne. He employed spies in every part of Italy, to discover heretics : the Republic of Venice, the Spanish governors of the Milanese, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, gratified the bigotted pontiff, by delivering up to him all such as were demanded or even suspected^c. After the decease of Pius the Fifth, the severity of the holy office gradually diminished under his successor.

C H A P.
VIII.
1574.

It is not very easy to define, or to ascertain the extent of the spiritual authority of the popes at this period, because it varied considerably in the different Catholic states of Europe. Venice and Tuscany submitted to the decrees enacted by the council of Trent, as far as they respected church discipline ; which were highly favorable to the power and pretensions of the Holy See. Philip the Second, though he permitted their publication in his dominions, yet interposed strong and perpetual obstacles to their execution in Spain and Naples, notwithstanding his pretended obedience to the church of Rome. France adopted the decrees, so far as they laid down the rule of faith ; but, the sovereigns and parliaments of that kingdom, never could be induced to sacrifice the ecclesiastical liberties and franchises of the nation. The Emperor Maximilian the Second, however menaced by Pius the Fifth, refused to publish

Spiritual
authority
of the pon-
tiffs.

^c Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 150—153.

them,

C H A P. them, or to obtain their sanction by the Diets
 VIII. of the empire^d. The same uncertainty pre-
 1574. vailed, as to the limits of the papal power over
 Vast pre- priests and the monastic orders; pretensions
 tensions of which formed the constant source of dispute
 the Ro- between the throne and the altar. The popes
 mish see. asserted that all ecclesiastics of every descrip-
 tion, when accused of any crime, were solely
 amenable to, and punishable by, the Holy See ;
 and if this reclamation had been admitted in its
 full extent, it is evident that no prince could have
 exerted any act of authority over the clergy.

Spiritual
 revenues.

The revenues of the sovereign pontiffs, arising
 out of the exercise of their plenitude of apos-
 tolic power, were not only considerable ; but,
 the modes of levying the contributions imposed,
 were very oppressive. The tenths and Annates
 were general throughout the countries which
 remained in the obedience of Rome, and fre-
 quently occasioned disturbance, from the se-
 verity with which these taxes were raised^e. But,
 the ingenuity of the popes, and their necessities
 or their profusion, had invented many other de-
 vices, in order to draw money to the exchequer.
 Julius the Second, when he began the construc-
 tion of St. Peter's church, in 1509, issued a *Bull*,
 by which, as a common contribution of all
 Christians towards that superb edifice, he im-
 posed a singular tax throughout Europe. It en-
 acted, that all legacies bequeathed to uncertain

^d Bruys, vol. iv. p. 668, 669, and p. 671, 672, and vol. v. p. 26,
 27. Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, vol. iv. p. 246, 247.

^e Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 383—388.

persons, or which, from whatever cause were not paid according to the intention of the testator, should be applied to the completion of the object above stated. A tribunal for exacting the receipts was named, invested with very extensive jurisdiction; and commissioners for receiving the money, were sent into the different countries. It is evident that if the popes, by virtue of their apostolic power, could have thus levied taxes in every state which owned subjection to the Holy See, they became virtually the sovereigns of Catholic Europe. In order however to secure its due execution, the respective princes or government were always rendered participators in the sums produced by it; and the oppressions exercised on the people became infinite^f. Another grievance of the same nature, calculated to enrich the papal see, was derived from the principle laid down by the popes, that "all benefices belonged exclusively to them, "as vicars of Christ and St. Peter, and might "be disposed of by them accordingly." Under the sanction of this bold assertion, they laid claim to the property of ecclesiastics, as reverting of right to the Holy See, on their decease; and incredible vexations were used, to enforce the decree. Paul the Third, in 1541 published a *Bull*, to justify the right; and it was even extended by a second similar rescript, which Pius the Fourth issued in 1560.^g

C H A P.
VIII.

15 74.

Impositions
and griev-
ances.

^f Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 393—396. Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, vol. iv. p. 187—191.

^g Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 367—372.

But,

C H A P.

VIII.

1574.

Papal
Bulls.

But, injurious as were these impositions to the authority of kings, and to the tranquillity of their subjects, they proved far inferior in their operation, to the effect of the memorable *Bull*, solemnly promulgated by Pius the Fifth in 1567; a mandate which was absolutely subversive of all royal, or temporal jurisdiction. By the twenty-first clause, he expressly, under pain of excommunication, prohibits every sovereign from laying any new tax whatever on their subjects, or from augmenting those already imposed. The insolence and violence of such a decree, incensed the princes whom it was intended to coërce; and even Philip the Second, however devoted to the Holy See, yet disdained to allow himself to be divested of the most essential prerogatives of his crown. The *Bull* was unanimously and immediately rejected by every Catholic power in Europe.^a

Great pre-
rogatives,
and pow-
ers.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the Roman pontiffs arrogated and exercised an authority, not only supreme, but in many cases unlimited. Pius the Fifth presumed, in contempt of the Imperial dignity and rights, to confer on Cosmo, Duke of Florence, the title of “Grand Duke of Tuscany;” and he publicly crowned and inaugurated that prince, at Rome. The oath taken by him to the Holy See, which resembled that of a vassal to his liege lord, contained a promise of “obedience and entire devotion to

^a Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 382—389. Bruys, vol. v. p. 15. Gianroné, vol. iv. p. 248—270.

“the Pope and his successors.” The reiterated protestations and remonstrances, made by the Emperor Maximilian the Second, against so extraordinary an assumption of power, were treated by Pius with indifference or contempt¹. Charles the Fifth, if he had then filled the throne of Germany, might perhaps have remonstrated more efficiently at the head of an army, such as the Constable of Bourbon led against Clement the Seventh, or such as the Duke of Alba conducted against Paul the Fourth. Charles was at once Duke of Milan, and King of Naples. So was Philip the Second. But when the Spanish dominions became detached from the Imperial title, that splendid distinction ceased to impress with terror, or even with respect, the powers beyond the Alps.

C H A P.
VIII.

1574.

Perhaps, of all the indecent and pernicious edicts which have proceeded from the Vatican, the *Bull* issued by Paul the Fourth in 1559, against the printing or publishing of such books as the Holy See thought proper to suppress, merits the highest indignation. It met nevertheless with compliance, at least in a degree, throughout many Catholic states. The Index, promulgated in the name of the Pope, by the Inquisitors to whom that function was entrusted, contained the names of all books and authors prohibited or condemned. Every anonymous production whatever, published since

Edicts
against li-
terary pro-
ductions.

Inquisito-
rial rigors.

¹ Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 216—224, and p. 228—232. Bruys, vol. v. p. 16, 17.

CHAP. the year 1519, about which time the doctrines
 VIII. of Luther began to be disseminated thro'out
 1574. Europe, was included in this proscription; and
 it was rigorously enjoined to abstain in future
 from printing any work, without the previous
 permission and approbation of the Inquisitor^k.
 It can scarcely be credited in the present age,
 that among the number of books thus sup-
 pressed, were comprehended bibles; the Greek,
 as well as Latin poets and historians; and above
 all, every work indiscriminately, published in
 Germany, at Paris, and at Lyons^l. By thus inhi-
 biting the perusal of the scriptures, the inferior
 orders of society were prevented from examin-
 ing, and comparing with the original authority,
 many of the most productive doctrines or tenets
 of the Romish church: while the suppression
 of Athenian and Roman genius, set limits to
 the human mind itself, by extinguishing its
 best guides, as well as its purest models.

Italy and Spain employed comparatively few
 printing presses. It was from the Protestant
 cities of the German empire, and from the Hu-
 gonots numerously scattered over France, that
 the popes dreaded the severest attacks. The
 loss in Florence only, which would have been
 sustained by a compliance with the *Bull* of
 Paul the Fourth, was estimated at one hundred
 thousand Ducats, or about forty-five thousand
 pounds sterling. Cosmo, Grand Duke of Tus-
 cany, impressed no doubt by this considera-
 tion, moderated, and in part suspended its exe-

^k Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 378—383.

^l Ibid. vol. ii. p. 378—383.

cution; restraining it to books injurious to religion. With this modulation, a great number of literary works were publicly committed to the flames at Florence, in March, 1559^m. Under the more temperate administration of Pius the Fourth, the rigors of the Inquisitors were lessened; but no sooner had Pius the Fifth acceded, than he immediately renewed his menaces against any infraction of the original *Bull*. The council of Trent having approved and confirmed the Index, all further opposition was regarded as impiousⁿ. It is a well-known fact, that the “Decameron” of Boccaccio, a work so much admired for the elegance of its diction, and the variety of entertainment contained in it, was among the number of suppressed productions. The Cardinal of Mantua, in 1562 vainly pleaded its cause, and endeavoured to procure its exemption from the Index revised by the council of Trent. The only grace which the prelate could obtain from the Censors appointed by the assembly, was a permission to correct the “Decameron,” in order to submit it anew to the censure of the Inquisitors. After many impediments, and great emendations, that amusing work, which depicts so well the manners of Italy, was again printed and published in 1572^o. Happily, the effect of the reformation, when added to the gradual progress of the human mind in improvement all over Europe, dispersed these attempts to restrain its

C H A P.
VIII.
1574.

Confirmation
of
them, by
the council
of Trent.

Effect of
the refor-
mation.

^m Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 378—383.

ⁿ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 455—459.

^o Ibid. p. 459—463.

pursuits

C H A P.
VIII.

1574.

pursuits and faculties. The Romish see becoming insensibly more tractable, abated in its arrogance, presumption, and tyranny. Conscious that the age of blind submission and darkness was past, the pontiffs adapted their conduct to the change in the temper of their subjects; and aware of the danger annexed to the experiment of extending the bounds of their spiritual power, when Luther and Calvin had shaken it to the foundation, they limited their ambition to defending and retaining the prerogatives, of which they were already in possession.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

DC122 .W94 v.1

The history of France, from the

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00022 0477